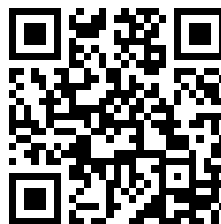
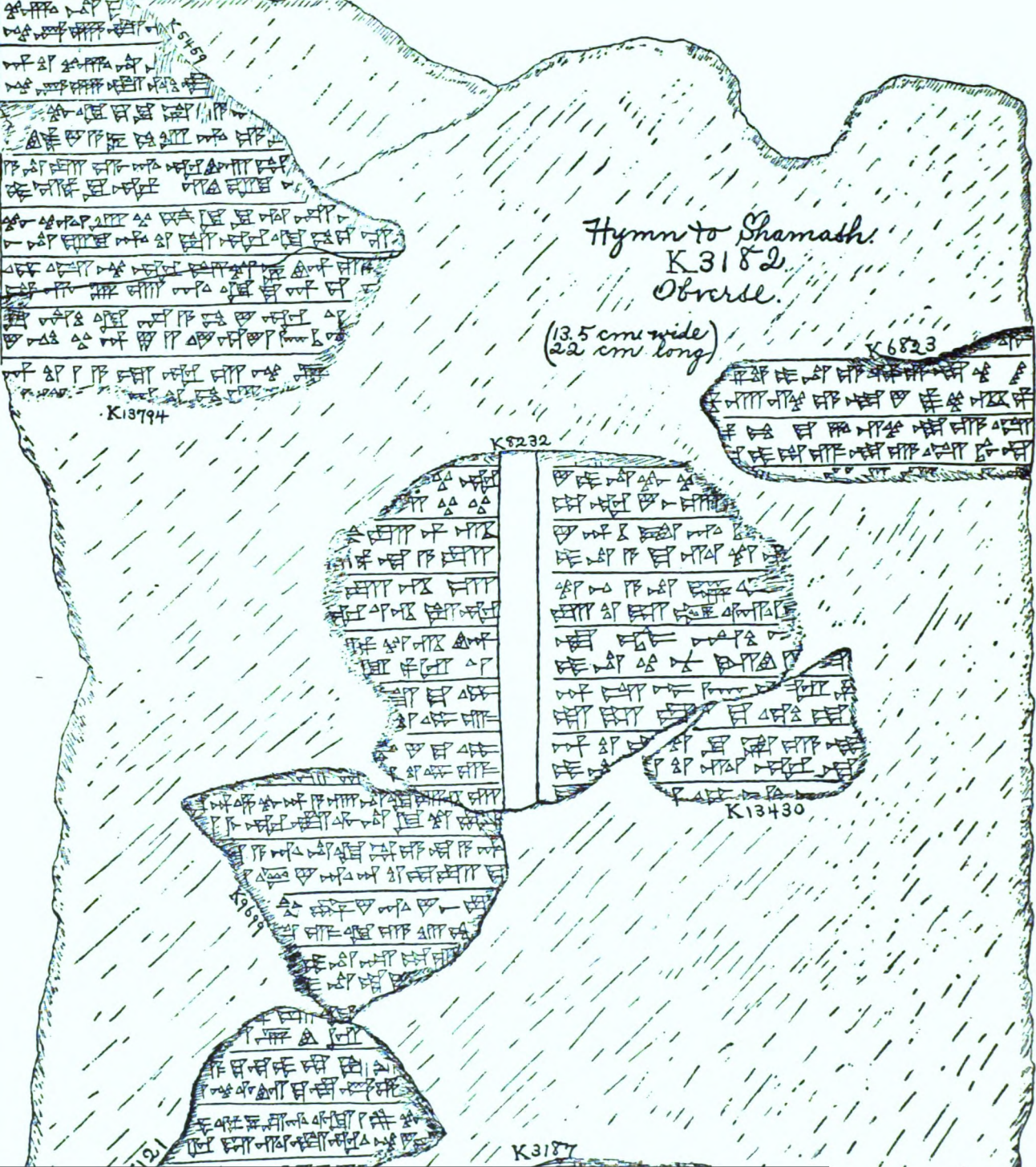

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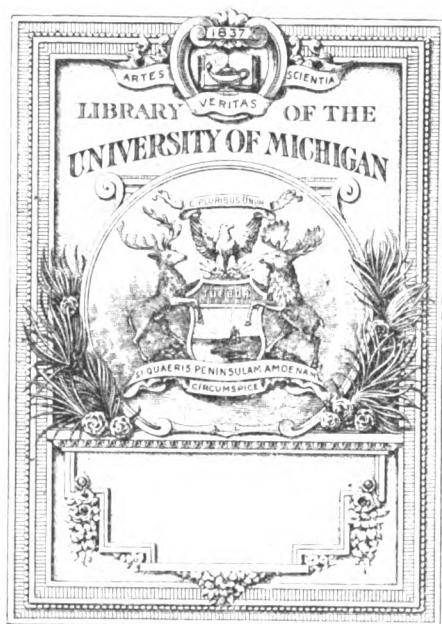
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OCTOBER, 1900

NUMBER 1

THE STRUCTURE OF HOSEA 1:2—3:5.

BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

This passage contains the account of Hosea's call to the prophetic work. The call comes in connection with the unfaithfulness of his wife. This situation furnishes the suggestion for a picture of Israel's relationship to Yahweh.

The section as a whole abounds in difficulties, some of which, however, are involved in the present arrangement of the text, and disappear with the improved arrangement here presented. This arrangement, adopted, in the majority of its features, by recent investigators,¹ receives strong corroboration from the facts noted in connection with the poetical structure of the material.

The arrangement, as here given, is intended (1) to show the original parts of the material; (2) to show the poetical form and structure; (3) to show at least the principal textual changes which may safely be adopted.

The practical results of the presentation will be found to be (1) some new light on the much-disputed questions of interpretation involved in the passage; (2) a grouping of the material which will be strictly logical, and, hence, entirely satisfactory; (3) a vindication of Hosea, in so far as this passage is concerned, against such statements as that of Cheyne,² viz.: "Symmetrical

¹ See Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*; Oort, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 345 sqq.; Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias*, pp. 24-32; Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*.

² *Hosea*, p. 33; cf. also Orelli, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, p. 6; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 2d ed., p. 157; Geo. Adam Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, pp. 211, 218.

divisions, then, such as we can easily make in the oratorical prophet Amos, are out of the question. There is rarely a distinct connexion, except in the tone of feeling, even between one verse and another.”³

The text, as rearranged, includes

1) *The harlotry of Gomer, the prophet's wife, 1:2-9* (vs. 7 being a later addition);

2) *The purchase of Gomer as a slave, and her retention “many days,”*⁴ 3:1-5 (vs. 5 being a later addition);

3) *The harlotry of Israel and her punishment therefor, 2:4-7, 10-14, 19* (vss. 4b, 6, 12, 18 being glosses or later additions);

4) *Later voices describing Israel's return to Yahweh, 2:8, 9; 2:16-17; 2:20-25; 2:1-3.*

1. *Hosea 1:2-9: The Harlotry of Gomer, the Prophet's Wife.*

The literary form of 1:2-9 exhibits certain well-organized strophes connected by brief statements in prose. The movement is at first the elegiac, but changes into simple trimeters:

(2a) תחלת דבריי' בהושע ° ויאמר י' אל-הושע

I (2bc) לך קח-לך אשת זנונים

וילדי זנונים

כי זנה תזנה הארץ

מאחרי יהוה:

(3) וילך ויקח את-גומר בת-דבלים ותהר ותלד לו בן: (4) ויאמר י' אלי

II (4) קרא שמו יזראל

כי-עוד מעט

ופקדתי את-דמי יזראל

על-בית יהוה

והשבתי ממלכות בית-ישראל:

(5) והיה ביום ההוא

ושברתי את-קשת-ישראל

בעמק יזראל:

³ The fact is, contrary to the commonly expressed opinion, that not only in this section, but also in chaps. 4-14, when the text of these chapters has been properly restored, the style of Hosea is straightforward, clear, and logical.

⁴ Hosea does not refer to the period following that of the retention. His horizon is thus limited.

(6a) ותהר עד ותלד בת ויאמר לו

קרא שמה לא־המה (6bc) III

כי לא אוֹסֶקֶ עַד

אִיהֶם אֲחִיבִית יִשְׂרָאֵל

כי נשא אשה להם :

(8) ותגמל את־לא רחמה ותהר ותלד בן : ויאמר

קרא שמו לא־עמי IV

כי אתם לא־עמי

ואנכי לא־אֵדִיהָ אֱלֹהֵיכֶם ;

PROSE.

- (1) Introduction (vs. 2a).
- (2) Marriage with Gomer and birth of a son (vs. 3, first words of vs. 4).
- (3) Birth of a daughter (vs. 6a).
- (4) Weaning of the daughter and birth of another son (vs. 8).

POETRY.

- I. Strophe of 4 lines (trimeters and dimeters): The marriage commanded (vs. 2bc, beg. לך).
- II. Strophe of 8 lines (trimeters and dimeters): Naming of the son and its dire significance for Israel (vs. 4, beg. קרא, vs. 5).
- III. Strophe of 4 lines (trimeters and dimeters): Naming of the daughter, and statement of Yahweh's attitude (vs. 6bc).
- IV. Incomplete strophe of 3 lines (trimeters and dimeter): Naming of son, and denial of further relationship.

It is to be noted as follows :

1) The thought is clear and consecutive : A man of sensitive temperament⁶ marries⁷ a young woman, who later proves unfaithful to her marriage-vows.⁸ The children born in infidelity⁹ are

⁶ Reading thus for לָכֵן of MT. So also Grätz, *Emendationes*, etc. (1893) ; Wellhausen ; Loftman, *Kritisk Undersökning af den Masoretiska Texten till Profeten Hoseas Bok* (1894) ; Nowack, *et al.*

⁷ This appears not only from the fact narrated, but also from the play of feeling seen in all his discourses.

⁸ It is a real marriage (so Jerome, Augustine, Mercer, Bauer, Ewald, Hofmann, Pusey, Cheyne, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Valeton, *et al.*), and not a vision (so Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Keil, Wünsche, *et al.*), nor an allegory (so Jarchi, Calvin, Hitzig, Simson, Reuss, König, *et al.*).

⁹ She was זִנִּיָּה, *i. e.*, not זִנָּה a harlot at time of marriage, but one who at the time of marriage had a tendency to impurity which manifested itself later (so Gebhard, Maurer, Rosenmüller, Henderson, Cheyne, Wellhausen, W. R. Smith, Kuenen, G. A. Smith, A. B. Davidson, *et al.*).

¹⁰ These were born, not before marriage (so Abarbanel, Grotius, Kurtz), nor in wedlock to Hosea (Böckel, Maurer), but (at least the second and third) in infidelity.

named *Jezreel, Unloved*, "No kin of mine" (literally, not-my-people). These names, like those of Isaiah,¹⁰ a few years later, are significant. The woman goes from bad to worse. The prophet (1) is led to see in this¹¹ a parallel of Israel's abandonment of Yahweh, and (2) through this domestic affliction is called to preach to his sinful countrymen.¹²

2) Each strophe deals with a separate item, and this use of poetry, in the naming of children, has parallels in Gen. 21:6, 7; 30:6, 8, 13, 20, 23; 38:29.

3) The poetical marks are abundant, *e. g.*, (1) the rhythm (in the recurrence of trimeter and dimeter); (2) the parallelism (but this in Strophes I and II is rough and ragged); (3) the evident purpose to have Strophes II, III, and IV begin with the same formula; (4) the phrases אִשְׁתִּי־זָנוּנִים (vs. 2), יְלָדֵי זָנוּנִים (vs. 2), קִשְׁתִּי (vs. 5), אֶרְסִיךָ אֲרִיחִם (vs. 6); (5) the symmetry of the strophes as to number of lines, 4, 8, 4, 3; Strophe II being 4+4, Strophe IV being one short.

4) Verse 7 is a later addition,¹³ because (1) it interrupts the narrative of Hosea's personal experience and its bearing upon the relations of Yahweh and Israel; (2) other references to Judah in Hosea are probably late; (3) the phrase "Yahweh your God" is a late expression; (4) it reflects the deliverance of Judah in Sennacherib's time (701 B. C.).

¹⁰ Cf. Shear-Jashub (Isa. 7:3), Immanuel (Isa. 7:14), Maher-shalal-hash-baz (Isa. 8:3).

¹¹ The basis of this parallel was a part of the superstitious belief of the times, *viz.*, that the gods were the husbands of their respective districts, and as such fertilized the land. Thus they were regarded as the givers of all material blessings, and their worship easily took on materialistic and sensual forms. For a discussion of this conception of deity see W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., pp. 93-108.

¹² (1) That this experience constituted the prophet's call appears from the fact that the true prophets as a rule received their divine commission through natural channels; Amos, *e. g.*, was aroused by the tramp of the Assyrian army and the corruption of his times; Isaiah's sermons gather around three great events, the Syro-Ephraimitish war, the invasion of Sargon in 711 B. C., and the invasion of Sennacherib; Zephaniah was aroused by the Scythian invasion, Jeremiah and Ezekiel by the events connected with the fall of Jerusalem. (2) Hosea himself recognizes his home experiences as the beginning of Yahweh's word to him (1:2). The most natural interpretation of this statement is to suppose that later in life he looked back upon this sad episode and realized that through it Yahweh had been speaking to his soul. That this was not an uncommon method of prophetic inspiration is evidenced by Isaiah, chap. 6, and Jer. 32:8. (3) The large place given to this conception of the marital relation between Israel and Yahweh in Hosea's preaching points in the same direction. (4) The tone of personal sympathy and anguish so prominent in Hosea's descriptions of Israel's sins against Yahweh seems to justify the belief that Hosea's own experience gave him his point of view in the prophetic work.

¹³ So also Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 577; Kuenen, Wellhausen, Oort, Cornill, Cheyne, Schwally, Guthe, Nowack, G. A. Smith, Loftman, Seesemann, *et al.* But on the contrary see König, *Einleitung*, p. 309.

2. *Hosea 3:1-5: The Purchase of Gomer as a Slave, and Her Retention "Many Days."*

The literary form of 3:1-5 is distinctly poetic. There are three strophes of 6 + 6 + 5 lines, in which the trimeter movement prevails:

- (1) I וַיֹּאמֶר י' אֵלַי
עוֹד לָךְ אֶהְיֶה אִשָּׁה
אֶהְבֶּתְךָ רַע וּמִנְאֻפֹּת
כִּאֲהַבְתִּי י' אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל
וְהֵם פְּנִים אֶל־אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים
וָאֶהְבֵּי אִשִּׁשֵׁי עַנְבִּים:
- (2) II וְאֶכְרָה לִּי בַחֲמוֹשָׁה עָשָׂר כֶּסֶף
וְהִזְמֵר שְׂעִירִים וּלְתֹךְ שְׂעִירִים:
(3) וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ
יָמִים רַבִּים תִּשְׁבִּי לִּי
לֹא תִזְנִי וְלֹא תִהְיֶינִי לְאִישׁ
וְגַם אֵינִנִּי אֵלֶיךָ:
- (4) III כִּי יָמִים רַבִּים
יִשְׁבוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
אֵין מֶלֶךְ וְאֵין שָׂר
וְאֵין זִבָּה וְאֵין מִצְבָּה
וְאֵין אִשָּׁה וְתַרְשִׁים:

Here again it will be observed that

1) the thought is a unit. The prophet, compelled by his love, purchases his wife¹⁵ out of the depths of infamy into which she has fallen, at the price of a slave.¹⁶ But he does not reestablish

¹⁴ אֵינִנִּי is suggested here instead of the MT. אֵנִי; an exact parallel for this construction is found in Gen. 31:5 = כִּי אֵינְנִי אֵלֶיךָ.

¹⁵ That the אִשָּׁה of 3:1 is Gomer is clear: Note (1) the description of her as an adulteress; (2) she and Gomer play the same part in parallelism with Israel; (3) the suffix in אֶכְרָה (vs. 2) refers to a particular woman, i. e., the one described in vs. 1; (4) if this were another woman we should expect some reference to that fact; (5) the introduction of two women would entirely spoil the essential thought.

¹⁶ It is uncertain whether Gomer had been divorced and had married another man (but cf. Jer. 3:1 sqq.; Deut. 24:1-4), or had become the slave-concubine of some man, or had been living with some man whom Hosea had to pay in order to avoid trouble when he took her back. But in any case reckoning the לֶחֶךְ at the traditional value of half a homer, and supposing a seah of barley to have been worth one-third of a shekel (cf. 2 Kings 7:18, where the seah sells for one-half a shekel at the close of a siege when prices were high) the homer and a half (i. e., forty-five seahs) of barley was worth fifteen shekels, thus making the total price paid for Gomer thirty shekels, which was the value of a slave (Exod. 21:32). To suppose that she was thus purchased as a slave is better than to regard the transaction as the giving of the marriage dowry (so, e. g., Manger, Rosenmüller, Maurer), or as provision made

the old relationship.¹⁷ She is to be disciplined, to lead a life shut off from men, and even from her husband. This period of seclusion will continue "many days." Nothing is said of the period following the "many days."¹⁸ The prophet sees in this whole transaction (1) a parallel of Yahweh's treatment of Israel; and (2) this together with the first act of the domestic tragedy constitutes his call to preach and furnishes him the message to be preached;

2) the strophic structure is definite, distinct, and logical. Strophe I describes the faithlessness of both Gomer and Israel. Strophe II is devoted to Gomer and pictures her degradation and seclusion. Strophe III is devoted to Israel and pictures her degradation and seclusion. Here is parallel thought and symmetrical representation;

3) the artistic element is so clear as scarcely to need pointing out. It is seen in (a) the strophic structure (see above); (b) the regularity of the rhythm (only one dimeter occurs, **וְיִאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ**); (c) the parallelism, which is much more marked than in chap. 1; (d) the use of the first person throughout, the actor being now the narrator; (e) poetical phrases, like **אֶהְבֶּתָּ רֵץ וְנִינְאֶפֶת** (vs. 1); (f) rare and poetical words, like **אֲשִׁישִׁי** (vs. 1), **לֶחֶךְ** (vs. 2); (g) the assonance prevailing in the closing lines of each strophe, i. e., the recurrence of **יָם** in lines 5 and 6 of Strophe I; of **יָ** in lines 4–6 of Strophe II; and of **אֵיךְ** in lines 3–5 of Strophe III;

4) verse 5 is to be regarded as a later addition¹⁹ because (1) the narrative of Hosea and his wife contains nothing to which the thought of this verse (Israel's return) might correspond.

for the support of Gomer until she should be reinstated (so, e. g., Osiander, Gebhard, Pusey), or to regard the money as the purchase price and the grain as provision for her support (so Calvin).

¹⁷ *Sitting still* (**הַשְׁבִּיר**; cf. Isa. 30:7; Jer. 8:14) describes a kind of life exactly the opposite of that which she has been living. Not only so, but she is debarred from the enjoyment of her former rights and privileges as Hosea's wife. This is the sense required for the last clause of vs. 3 and it is the interpretation adopted by Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Maurer, Wünsche, Rouss, Steiner, Grätz, Wellhausen, Bachmann, Valetton, Nowack, *et al.* The reading adopted here (see above) seems better than to insert **לֹא אֶבְרָא** (so, e. g., Grätz, Wellhausen, Valetton, Nowack), or to insert **אֵל** after **אֲנִי** (so Bachmann), or to leave the text as it stands and to carry the force of **לֹא** over from the preceding clause (so Maurer, Reuss, *et al.*). Nowack's objection to the somewhat similar reading of Steiner (**אֲנִי אֶינְנִי**) that the idiom **אֵיךְ אֵל** is improbable, loses its point in view of the occurrence of this very idiom in Gen. 31:5.

¹⁸ This fact is strongly in favor of the view adopted here that the passages in Hosea, chaps. 1–3, which treat of the restoration of Israel to Yahweh's favor, are of later origin. Such passages have no analogy in the story of Hosea's treatment of his wife which he is using to illustrate Yahweh's dealings with Israel.

¹⁹ So Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 577; Staerk, *ZA W.*, Vol. XI, p. 249; Oort, *op. cit.*, p. 384; Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 30 sq.; Nowack, *et al.*

Hosea does *not* take back his wife. He only goes so far as to place her in seclusion; (2) the tone and contents of the verse accord entirely with those of 2:1-3, 9, 16, 17, which are unquestionably later;²⁰ (3) the language points to a later date,²¹ viz., the use of פָּהַר (*cf.* Micah 7:17), אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים, דוֹיֵד (both form and usage are late), טוֹב, as applied to Yahweh.

3. *Israel's Harlotry and Her Punishment Therefor: 2:4-7, 10-14, 15, 19.*

This is independent of chaps. 1 and 3, which go together, and likewise of the other portions of chap. 2, viz., vss. 1-3, 8, 9, 16, 17, which come from a later date. Vss. 4b, 6, 12, are to be treated as glosses. There is no very close connection between this and chaps. 1-3. The form consists of four strophes, 8 + 9 + 8 + 9, in the trimeter movement:

- (4) I
 רִיבוּ בְּאִמְכֶם רִיבוּ
 וְחָסֵר זְנוּנִיהָ מִפְּנִיהָ
 וְנִאֲפֻשֶׁיהָ מִבֶּין שְׂדֵיהָ:
 פֶּן אֶפְשִׁיטֶנָּה עֵרְמָה (5)
 וְהִצַּגְתִּיהָ כְּיוֹם הַלֹּלֶדָה
 וְשִׁמְתִיהָ כְּמִדְבָּר
 וְשִׁתִּיהָ כְּאַרְץ צִיָּה
 וְהִמְתִּיהָ בְּצִמָּא:
- (7) II
 כִּי זָנְתָה אֲמִם
 הִבִּישָׁה הוֹרָתָם כִּי אָמְרָה
 אֶלְכָּה אַחֲרֵי מֵאֲהָבִי
 נָתַנִּי לַחֲמִי וּמִיָּמִי
 צִמְרִי וּפִשְׁתִּי שְׂמִנִי וּשְׁקִיִּי:
 וְהִיא לֹא יָדָעָה (10)
 כִּי אֲנִי נָתַתִּי לָהּ
 הַדָּגֶן וְהַתִּירוֹשׁ וְהַיֵּצֶהָר
 וְכֶסֶף הָרִבִּיתִי לָהּ וְזָהָב:
- (11) III
 לָכֵן אָשׁוּב וּלְקַחְתִּי דַגְנִי בַעֲחָו
 וְתִירוֹשִׁי בְּמוֹעֶדוֹ
 וְהִצַּלְתִּי צִמְרִי וּפִשְׁתִּי
 לְכַסּוֹת אֶת־עֵרֻוֹתָהּ:

²⁰ See pp. 10 *seq.*, 15.

²¹ See Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ (14)
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ (13) IV
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ (15)
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ (19)
 וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׁאֵל אֶת־מִתְּנֵי־הָאֵלֶּיךָ

Attention is invited to the following remarks:

1) The thought is clear and logical. No interruptions occur. The expression moves on smoothly and regularly. It is a literary unit: Israel must put away her harlotry, lest I destroy her. She has sinned shamefully in entering into union with those whom she supposed to be the authors of her prosperity; and she has forgotten that it was I who gave her all these things. But I will take them away again; I will lay her waste, and cause all her gladness to cease. I will punish her for indulging in Baalistic orgies. I will even expunge the unholy names from her memory. This may be summed up, *Israel has played the harlot; she shall be punished.*

2) The strophic progress is exceedingly fine:

Strophe I: Plead with your mother to put away her sin lest I destroy her (vss. 4, 5).

Strophe II: She has sinned in seeking the Baalim, from whom she imagined she received benefit, not knowing that it was I who bestowed upon her all her comforts (vss. 7, 10).

Strophe III: Therefore I will take back all I have given her, the evidences of her prosperity, her corn and wine, her vines and fig-trees (vss. 11, 14).

Strophe IV: I will cause all joy to cease and will visit judgment upon her for all her indulgences, so that their very names will perish from memory (vss. 13, 15, 19).

3) The evidences of artistic purpose are seen in (1) the symmetrical strophic structure (see above); (2) the progress of

thought (see above); (3) the prevailing trimeter movement; (4) the regularity of parallelism; (5) alliteration, *e. g.*, the repetition of the suffix יָהּ in Strophe I, lines 2 and 3, and of יָהּ — at the beginning of lines 5–8, the recurrence of the endings יָהּ , יָהּ , יָהּ in Strophe II, lines 3–5; the interchange of the endings יָהּ and יָהּ in Strophe III, lines 1–3; the repetition of יָהּ in Strophe IV, lines 1 and 2; (6) rare and poetic words, *e. g.*, נִשְׁפָּזָה (vs. 4), שִׁקְרִי (vs. 7), אֶתְנָה (vs. 14), חִלְיָתָהּ (vs. 15).

4) The following textual emendations are to be adopted: (1) Vs. 4b, $\text{אִשָּׁה} \dots \text{כִּי}$ is to be taken with Volz (*op. cit.*, p. 26) and Nowack as a gloss originating from אֲנִיכֶם , for it breaks the connection between רִיבִי and וְתַסִּי ; it does not accord with the meter of this passage; and it is a superfluous line in this strophe. (2) Vs. 6 is a gloss (so also Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 26, and Nowack) which interrupts the close connection between vss. 5 and 7, and is little else than a repetition of 1:6b. It has no place in the structure of this strophe, nor in that of the following one. (3) Vs. 10, עָשׂוּ לִבְעַל is a later addition (so Wellhausen and Nowack), for (a) the plural עָשׂוּ is not in harmony with the preceding references to Israel as a woman, (b) Hosea regularly uses the plural form בַּעֲלִים , (c) it is a departure from the line of thought which is concerned here rather with Yahweh's actions than with those of Israel, (d) its syntactical connection is unusual. (4) Vs. 12 is a gloss (so Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 27, and Nowack) based on עִירֹתָהּ (vs. 11). The ideas and phraseology are characteristic of later prophecy (*cf.* with vs. 12a Jer. 13:26; Ezek. 16:37; Nah. 3:5, and with vs. 12b Isa. 43:13; Deut. 32:39). (5) Vs. 14, $\text{אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לִי בְּאֶהְרֵי}$ is a gloss explaining אֶתְנָה , and based on vs. 7. It adds nothing to the thought and is not essential to the strophe. (6) Vs. 14 is placed after vs. 11, leaving vs. 13 to be connected with vs. 15. (7) Vs. 19 (to which vs. 18 is a gloss) connects closely with vs. 15. (8) The remaining portions of chap. 2, viz., 2:1–3; 2:8, 9; 2:16–17; 2:20–25 are taken as four distinct and independent utterances, and are treated separately (see next section).

4. Later Voices Describing Israel's Return to Yahweh: 2:8, 9; 2:16–17; 2:20–25; 2:1–3.

It is now generally acknowledged that nothing was more common in the later days of Israel's literary history than to work over earlier productions and to make additions to them. There

is no earlier prophet whose work has not been treated in this manner.²² Just so, Hosea's words were found in later days, *i. e.*, after the restoration, to stop short of that important period, and statements referring to this time are inserted. In chap. 2 we have four such additions, each of them poetical in form. We may take them up in turn.

A. *Israel's return*, 2:8, 9.—This piece is a strophe of six lines; the movement is a rough and irregular tetrameter:

(8) לֹכֵן הִנְיִשְׁךְ אֶת־דֶּרֶכְךָ בְּסִירִים
וְגִדְרֵי אֶת־גְּדִירָה וְנִתְיַבֹּתֶיהָ לֹא תִמְצָא :
(9) וְרִדְפָה אֶת־מֵאֲהָבֶיהָ וְלֹא תִשִּׁיג אִתָּם
וּבִקְשָׁתָם וְלֹא תִמְצָא וְאִמְרָה
אֲלֵכֶּהָ וְאֶשׁוּבָה אֶל אִשִּׁי הָרִאשׁוֹן
כִּי טוֹב לִי אֵז מִטֶּהָ :

An examination of this strophe discloses some interesting points:

1) It has a single thought, *viz.*, Israel, *compelled by harsh measures* to separate herself from her lovers, returns to Yahweh. No choice is given her. No option is exercised on her part. Impassable barriers are established, and, consequently, she loses her way and is forced to come back.

2) The strophe is perfect: six tetrameters, in couplets; the parallelism of the first and second is synonymous, of the third and fourth synonymous, of the fifth and sixth synthetic. Marks of poetic skill are seen in (1) the *גִּדְרֵי אֶת־גְּדִירָה* (vs. 8), (2) the putting of "wall" over against the "hedge-thorn," *בִּקֵּשׁ* over against *רִדְפָה*, *תִּמְצָא* over against *תִּשִּׁיג*, (3) the very striking and rhythmic phrase *כִּי טוֹב לִי אֵז מִטֶּהָ*.

3) The strophe is itself late;²⁴ this appears from (1) the fact that it is rendered superfluous by 3:3; (2) lack of agreement with 3:3 in that here a voluntary return of the woman is described, while there she is held in forcible restraint; (3) it breaks the connection between vss. 7 and 10, which is otherwise very close, and

²² Cf. Amos 9:8b-15; Isa. 2:2-4; chaps. 24-27; 36-39; 40-66; Micah 2:12 *sq.*; 4:1-4; chaps. 5-7; Jer., chap. 52, etc.

²³ *ה* instead of *ך*; so Sept. Syr., also Oort, *op. cit.*, p. 353; Grätz, *op. cit.*; Wellhausen, Loftman, Guthe, in Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des A. T.*; G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 245. Bachmann, *Alttest. Untersuch.*, I, 11, reads *דֶּרֶכְךָ*; so Nowack; this is favored by the Syriac, Targum, and the following *נִתְיַבֹּתֶיהָ*.

²⁴ So Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Nowack. Oort, *op. cit.*, pp. 345 *sqq.*, regards vss. 8-10 as misplaced and inserts them between 2:15 and 2:16.

introduces prematurely the element of chastisement which comes in naturally with vs. 11; (4) it has a different rhythm and strophic structure from that employed in the context.

B. *Israel is allured from her lovers, and, after a proper season, is restored to former favor, 2:16, 17 (18).*—This piece is distinctly different from 2:8, 9, in that (1) Israel is spoken of in the third person, while according to the MT. in 2:8, 9, the second person is used; (2) a different usage of הנה is employed, cf. הנה (2:8) with הנה אנכי (2:16); but especially (3) an entirely different point of view is adopted, one passage representing Israel as forced away from her lovers, the other as enticed or allured away; one representing discipline as coming in one way, the other presenting an entirely different representation.

It consists of one strophe of six tetrameters. Vs. 18 is a gloss to vs. 19 (see Nowack):

לכן הנה אנכי מפתיה (16)
והלכתיה המדבר ודברתי על-לבה;
ונתתי לה את-כרמיה בשם (17)
ואת-ענבן ענור לפתח חקוה
וענתה שמה כימי נעוריה
וכיום עלותה מארץ מצרים:

This strophe presents the following points:

1) A unity which is definite and distinct from the other similar passage, 2:8, 9. Here Israel is kindly and gently separated from her lovers, and, as in coming out of Egypt, is guided to the wilderness for discipline; from this point her prosperity will be restored, and she will become again strong and fresh as in the days of her youth.

2) A perfect artistic form, to be seen in the well-balanced parallelism, first and second being synonymous, third and fourth synonymous, fifth and sixth also synonymous.

3) Late origin,²⁵ as seen in (1) the different point of view taken here from that occupied in vss. 11 *sqq.*; there the thought is that of punishment pure and simple, here it is tender-hearted chastisement with a view to repentance and reformation; there punishment alone is thought of, here promises of blessing prevail; (2) the different representation here from that in vs. 5; there the land where Israel dwells is to become a barren waste;

²⁵ So Volz., *op. cit.*, p. 27; Nowack.

here Israel is to be driven from its land into the desert by Yahweh; (3) the order of thought in vs. 17 is characteristic of later days—Israel's return to Yahweh is represented as brought about by Yahweh's goodness in the bestowal of blessings, but if Hosea ever contemplated a return it was to be as a result of punitive discipline at Yahweh's hands, and the blessings would follow repentance; (4) the thought of Israel's obedience to Yahweh in her youth (vs. 17) does not agree with the representations of 11:1 sq. and 12:4; (5) late expressions; *e. g.*, "the valley of Achor" is mentioned in Isa. 65:10; the figure of allurements in the wilderness has parallels in Ezechiel; (6) it has a different rhythm and strophic structure from those employed in the genuine verses of the context.

4) Verse 18 is a gloss on vs. 19.²⁶

C. *Yahweh's covenant and betrothal, 2:20–22.*—This piece is a strophe of six lines, pentameter movement:

(20) וּכְרַתִּי לָהֶם בְּרִית בְּיוֹם הַהוּא

עִם חֵית־הַשָּׂדֶה וְעִם עֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיִמְשׁוּ הָאָדָמָה

וְקָשַׁת וְהָרִב וּבִלְחָמָה אֲשֶׁבוֹר מִן־הָאָרֶץ

(21) וְהִשְׁכַּבְתִּים לְבָשָׁח: וְאַרְשָׁתִּיךָ לִי לְעוֹלָם

וְאַרְשָׁתִּיךָ לִי בַחֲדָר וּבְרִחְמִים:

(22) וְאַרְשָׁתִּיךָ לִי בְאֱמוּנָה וִידַעַת אֲחִידָהוּ:

This section is uncommonly interesting:

1) Its thought is simple and striking. A new ordinance is established by which beasts and men shall do Israel no harm; and again Israel will be betrothed to Yahweh, this time in loving kindness, mercy, and faithfulness; and at last Israel shall really know Yahweh.

2) The movement is strong, but somewhat ragged. Perhaps there are two strophes, each of three pentameters, the first describing the "covenant" with the animals, the second describing the betrothal. In this case the first words of the second strophe (the last two words of vs. 20) sum up the security gained by the "covenant," and prepare the basis for the new thought, *Yea, I will betroth thee to me forever*, the sudden change from the third plural to the second feminine singular being demanded by the figure, and being, at the same time, not unusual in Hebrew.²⁷ If,

²⁶ So Wellhausen, Volz, Nowack.

²⁷ (a) Cf. for similar abrupt changes 2:3, 18; 4:6; Gen. 49:25a, 26a; Deut. 32:14d, 15b. See König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik u. s. w.* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 238 sqq. (b) בַּזָּדֵק is to be omitted from vs. 21 as incongruous in view of the context.

then, we make two strophes, the first has three lines, dealing with the covenant, the beasts, and weapons of war; the second has three lines, in each of which the betrothal is mentioned.

3) The passage is late,²⁸ because (1) this idyllic picture of a state of universal peace represents later ideals (*cf.* Isa. 4:6 *sq.*; 65:25) (see above, p. 11); (2) the thought of vss. 21 *sq.* has no parallel in the story of Hosea's wife which is the basis of chaps. 1-3; (3) the language and phraseology of vs. 20 are characteristic of a later age; *cf.* Lev. 26:3 *sqq.*; Gen. 9:2; Ezek. 34:25 *sqq.*; Isa. 11:6 *sqq.*; 35:9; 2:4; Zech. 9:10;²⁹ (4) a new meter and strophic structure appear.

D. *Bounteous blessings for Israel, 2:23-25.*—This addition consists of three strophes of 4 + 4 + 3 lines, trimeter movement:

וְהָיָה בְּיוֹם הַהוּא (23)
אֵנָּה נָאִם יְהוָה
אֵנָּה אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם
וְהֵם יִעֲנוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ;
וְהָאָרֶץ תֵּעֲנֶה אֶת הָדָג (24)
וְאֶת־הַתִּירֹשׁ וְאֶת הַיִּצְהָר
וְהֵם יִעֲנוּ אֶת־יִזְרְעֶאל;
וְיִרְעִיָּה לִי בָאָרֶץ (25)
וְרַחֲמֵי אֶת־לֵאָה רַחֲמָה
וְאִמְרֵי לֵאָה־עַמִּי אֶת־הָאֵלֹהִים
וְהוּא יֹאמֶר אֱלֹהִי

This piece is essentially different from the others:

1) Its thought is clear and beautiful; "Jezreel (Israel) asks its plants to germinate; they call upon the earth for its juices; the earth beseeches heaven for rain; heaven supplicates for the divine word which opens its stores; and Yahweh responds in faithful love."³⁰

2) In the artistic form everything is satisfactory. The parallelism may be called progressive; the thought and form are both highly poetic.

3) It is to be regarded as late,³¹ because (1) it contemplates the full restoration of Israel to Yahweh's favor; (2) the eschatological phrase **וְהָיָה בְּיוֹם הַהוּא** belongs to later times; **עֵנָה**

²⁸ So Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Nowack.

³⁰ Cheyne, *Hosea*, p. 56.

²⁹ *Cf.* especially Volz, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 *sq.*

³¹ So Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Nowack.

as used here is found only in late passages, *e. g.*, 14:9; Ps. 65:6; Eccl. 10:19; (3) the materialistic blessings spoken of here are not in keeping with the spirit of the teachings of Amos and Hosea; (4) the meter and strophic structure change again.

E. *Great numbers and new names*, 2:1-3.—This addition, the last, consists of two strophes of four lines each, pentameter movement:

(1) וְהָיָה מִסְפֵּר בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּהוֹל הַיָּם
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִמָּד וְלֹא יִסְפֹּר
וְהָיָה בְּמִקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יֹאמַר לָהֶם לֹא־עַמִּי אַתֶּם
יֹאמַר לָהֶם בְּנֵי אֵל חַי:

(2) וְנִקְבְּצוּ בְּנֵי־יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יַחְדָּו
וְשִׁמּוּ לָהֶם רֹאשׁ אֶחָד וְעָלוּ בְּיַד־הָאָרֶץ
כִּי גָדוֹל יוֹם יִזְרְעָאֵל:
(3) אֲבִירוּ לֵאחֵיכֶם עַמִּי וּלְאֶחָוֵיכֶם רַחֲמָה:

Whatever doubt may exist as to the place in which this may be inserted to best advantage, its separateness is clear. It is in its last part virtually a repetition of 2:25.

1) One thought is expressed, prosperity, as seen in numbers and new names, the latter expressing Yahweh's attitude toward them. In the future Israel's numbers will be beyond calculation; instead of being estranged from Yahweh her people will be recognized as sons of the living God; and instead of schism between north and south there will be united action resulting in victory over all opponents.

2) Each of the two strophes presents an important idea: Strophe I, Israel's numbers will be great and she will again become Yahweh's people; Strophe II, she will be reunited and thus enabled to meet all enemies. The parallelism is not even.

3) This piece cannot be placed after 2:25,³² because³³ (1) it is superfluous in that position, being little more than a repetition of 2:23-25; (2) it forms a very poor ending for chap. 2; (3) it distinguishes between Israel and Judah, while the rest of the chapter speaks only of Israel; (4) according to vs. 20 Israel is already in the home land, but according to vs. 2 they have yet to

³² So Heilprin, *The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews*, Vol. II, pp. 125 sq.; Steiner, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, etc.; Kuono, *Einleitung*, Vol. II, p. 319; G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 sq.

³³ Oort, *op. cit.*, pp. 358 sq.; Giesobrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaïakritik*, p. 215, Note; Cornill, *Einleitung*, p. 172.

return thither; (5) **הָאֶרֶץ** is used in an altogether different sense in vs. 3 from that in vss. 20 and 25.

4) It is to be taken as an independent and late addition³⁴ on the following grounds: (1) In its present position it breaks the connection between vss. 19 and 24, neither can it be satisfactorily placed elsewhere; (2) the reference to Judah is suspicious; (3) in its vision of Israel's future it passes beyond Hosea's horizon; (4) it implies that Israel has already been carried from its land; (5) the interpretation of "Jezreel" and "Lo-ammi" in 2:25 is different from that in 2:1 sq.; (6) the tremendous increase of Israel is a later eschatological conception (cf. Gen. 22:17; 32:13; Isa. 48:19); (7) it differs in poetic form from every other section of this chapter.

³⁴ So Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Isr.*, p. 442, Anm. 1; Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 577, note 1; Cornill, *ZA W.*, 1887, p. 285; Giesebrecht, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 sqq.; Oort, *op. cit.*, pp. 358 sqq.; Loftman, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Cheyne, in W. R. Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, p. xviii; Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Nowack; Seesemann, *Israel und Juda bei Amos u. Hosea nebst einem Exkurs über Hos. 1-3* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 33.

NOTES ON ISAIAH 1:18b AND 7:14b-16.

BY PROFESSOR OWEN H. GATES,
New York, N. Y.

Isaiah 1:18b.—R. V., "though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." Cheyne translates: "If your sins be scarlet, they may become white as snow; be they red as crimson, they may become as wool." In both renderings the possibility of forgiveness is implied or expressed; in the second there is a suggestion of conditions attaching to the forgiveness, while in the first the certainty expressed ignores any conditions. The second is preferable, as it takes into account the context in vss. 19, 20. Cheyne's note to vs. 18b is: "How this can be effected we learn from vss. 19, 20. A change of life would avert the threatened punishment." This common explanation of vs. 18 involves as a minimum the removal, by Yahweh, of the guilt of the sinner on condition of his becoming "willing and obedient." But vs. 19b states expressly what is the conclusion of that (changed) condition: "Ye shall eat the good of the land." Have we interpreted the last part of the two lines of vs. 18b correctly?

At first sight the similarity in form of vss. 18b, 19, 20 would seem to argue for the common explanation. But the similarity is formal only. The conditional clauses in vss. 18b and 19 are not synonymous, and the conclusions need not be. There is no occasion to interpret those of vs. 18b as expressing Yahweh's forgiveness of sin, because vs. 19b states what will be the fortune of the willing and obedient Israelite. This latter verse is in entire harmony with the prophet's message given in this chapter: the former verse, as usually interpreted, assumes a strange interruption to Isaiah's course of thought, however little spirituality may be conceded it.

The suggestion which we venture is to make the last half of the two lines of vs. 18b parallel with the condition of vs. 19. Willingness and obedience form the condition of eating the good of the land. Such a state of mind is not the condition or means

of "snow-whiteness;" it is snow-whiteness itself. For the securing of it the sinner, guilty Israel, is responsible. Of course, this thought calls for a jussive force for the verbs under consideration. "If your sins be scarlet, let them be white as snow. If they be red as crimson, let them be as wool. If ye are (thus) willing and obedient, ye shall eat the fruit of the land."

We have thus far considered the verse from the point of view of the succeeding context, led to this course by Cheyne's note. What is the foregoing context? Israel's forms of worship are obnoxious to Yahweh when employed by men whose lives were sinful. Disaster is overtaking their land; they pray to Yahweh, but the hands they lift to him are red with blood. "I cannot grant your prayer for prosperity and deliverance from affliction." What will secure them a hearing and an answer? The answer is short and sharp. Wash those blood-stained hands. Abandon your evil doings; practice uprightness, justice, kindness. This they must do as a condition of Yahweh's answering their prayers. The terminology down to vs. 17 is not that of heart-repentance, of divine forgiveness of past sins. The life and conduct is to be corrected *by the petitioner* before he can expect his prayer for temporal prosperity to be heard. This correction of the life and conduct is within the power of the man to make. It is laid upon him as an obligation to perform.

This brings us to vs. 18. "Let us reason together." What is the subject involved in the summons *נִוְכַחְתִּי* of Yahweh? The temptation is strong to answer the question in accordance with our preconceived ideas of the meaning of the verse. But really there is abundant latitude for any interpretation which may otherwise commend itself.

The common explanation supposes that between vss. 17 and 18 the attitude of the Israelite has changed. Conviction of sin has followed the prophet's vigorous language of the preceding section. But there is no hint in the opening words of the verse that there is such change, or that the following thought is a new one. The analogy of prophetic utterance is abundantly satisfied if the prophet is to proceed to reiterate his former truth, especially if he elaborates or strengthens his case thereby. This increased emphasis is certainly secured by the literary fiction of a hearing at which Yahweh states his case fully. We are then not bound to find in vs. 18 an advance in thought.

As we come to examine the second part of the verse, we must do the well-nigh impossible, and forget our familiar "though" as a translation of the simple **אם** "if." "If your sins be as scarlet," what then? A second state is mentioned—"white as snow." Of course, the two clauses do not mean that a sin can be, now scarlet, and then snow-white. They mean that a man may now have great sin, and then be without sin; not a scarlet sin now, and then a snow-white sin; rather, you Israelites now sinful, and then sinless, unstained with sin. The figure employed evidently comes from the preceding verses; there it is concrete, here it is developed into an abstract proposition. If we go to vss. 15, 16 for the figure, why not go to the same source for the thought also? There a washing is contemplated, but without more ado the bloody-handed Israelite is commanded to wash his own hands. They have been leading wicked lives; they are bidden live righteous lives—a very simple and practical demand, not beset by any theological difficulties.

"If your sins be as scarlet"—what is the most natural thing for Isaiah to say next? What would be expected from a prophet who has written vss. 15, 16, 17, and is in vss. 19, 20 to bring his main contention to a climax with the forcible, "The mouth of Yahweh hath spoken it"? Is it not to be expected that he will say, "If your sins be as scarlet, let them become white as snow"? That this is his burden seems to the writer increasingly probable.

Isaiah 7: 14b, 15, 16.—The following suggestion is hazarded in the somewhat uncertain search for the original form and meaning of the celebrated chapter. The verses may have been removed from an original location before vs. 9b. The reasons that prompt the suggestion may be stated in brief. They certainly do not amount to a proof of the correctness of the hypothesis, but are presented nevertheless:

1. The verses cited do not have good connection forward or backward. At least vss. 14b and 16 are promises of blessing, of deliverance from danger by the power and presence of Yahweh with his people. Vs. 15 is by some taken otherwise. Upon what Old Testament passages their view can be based is not clear. In Gen., chap. 18; Deut., chap. 32; Judg., chap. 5; 2 Sam., chap. 17; Job, chap. 20, butter and milk are indicative of abundance. They form part of the hospitality accorded to the

honorable. No one can think that the sacred writers meant a famine-stricken or devastated land when they referred to Canaan as a land flowing with milk and honey. The strong presumption is that the verse before us corresponds to its immediate context. The force of the terms in vss. 21, 22 is less clear if the context of these verses is to be considered. If they are taken independently, the impression created by them is certainly that of abundance, although כל הנוחר may be taken to suggest that a depopulation has previously occurred. The context of vs. 15 contains no such connotation, and there is no occasion for rejecting the verse as a gloss on the ground of its incongruity with the favorable predictions of vss. 14 and 16. The character of vss. 14b, 16 is, however, not affected by the disposition made of vs. 15.

Vss. 12, 13, however, lead us to expect a prediction of evil to follow. Asked by the prophet to ask a sign by which his faith in Yahweh might be strengthened, Ahaz refuses. He does not believe, and he will not expose himself to conditions which may make belief necessary. This perversity of the king is met by a natural outburst of impatient rebuke. He "wearies" not only man (the prophet?), but the prophet's God also, by his obstinacy. Neither the prophet's language in vs. 14a nor temper of mind exhibited in vs. 13 allows us to take the giving of the sign to be in the same spirit as in vs. 11. If the ארת there would show the blessings to follow obedience, the ארת here would show the penalties of Ahaz' present disobedience. Into such a course of thought vss. 14b-16 intrude awkwardly.

The following context is no less awkward. The solemn introduction of the principal thought of vs. 17, and the comparison of the future with the schism between Judah and Israel, a grievous misfortune as interpreted by the prophets, and especially in evidence just now when Israel was arrayed against Judah, permit but one explanation of the verse. The lack of an introductory conjunction, in itself suspicious, is no more noticeable than the lack of logical connection.

2. Not only does the passage in question lack good connection, but if it is removed the remainder gains in continuity. The omission of connective at the beginning of vs. 17, disturbing in its present sequence, becomes natural and necessary if vs. 17 follows vs. 14a (הנה may stay with vs. 17 or go with vs. 14b). The strong *a priori* expectation of a threat of evil to come as a punishment

for Ahaz' perversity is perfectly met by the new connection. An אִמָּנוּ is not of necessity a supernatural event (indeed the Immanuel sign as now explained is without miraculous quality) or an immediate event (the former reference of the child Immanuel was to Jesus of Nazareth centuries later), and no objection can be raised to the prophet's calling the devastation of Judah a sign if he choose; true, it is the substance of the prediction and not simply a sign, but such use we meet elsewhere, and here the form of the revelation is an easy development of the earlier verses of the section.

3. The foreignness of vss. 14b-16 to its present context has some degree of possibility from considerations already mentioned. Even if no better context can be found for it, they still have their weight, undiminished; if a suitable context can be found, they are greatly increased. The proposed original location is before the final clause of 7:9. The suggestion is made with extreme hesitation because of the disorder which characterizes that section and the consequent impossibility of fixing, with any confidence, upon the prophet's course of thought; and without any effort to reduce the resulting passage to a literary form, consistent in details, because no new difficulties are introduced by the proposed transposition.

Ewald suggests to insert, "but Judah's head is Jerusalem, and Jerusalem's head is Yahweh," after vs. 9a. He is led to this suggestion by the difficulty of וְ (vs. 8) otherwise; he also claims that the words which would be suitable here must be few and forcible. Very likely vss. 14b-16 would not meet his notion; certainly their form is very different from his suggestion; but our reference to Ewald is to show that the propriety of a reference here to Judah and Yahweh's protection was felt by him.

Cheyne is still more significant. He says: "The writer of the gloss [vs. 8b] (. . .) may, however, have been right in his impression that the text as it stood was incomplete." Again: "We must suppose that here too [before vs. 10] something has fallen out of the text or been omitted—a view which is confirmed by the formula prefixed to vs. 10." This, he thinks, must have been nearly equivalent to the closing words of vs. 16. "In vss. 17-25 his language is deterrent; in the lost passage which should precede vs. 10 it was probably of a persuasive character." "Isaiah may have spoken somewhat thus: 'Wherefore shouldst thou seek

help afar off? Is there no God in Israel who is mighty to save? Yet a very little while and the fortress shall cease from Ephraim, and the kingdom from Damascus. Dost thou not even yet trust the divine promise? Then ask thee a sign from Yahwè thy God.'” One can only wonder that Cheyne should not mention, here or later in his discussion of vss. 14*b*–16, the possibility that this section is the lost passage which in his judgment so closely resembles it.

Speaking independently, it seems natural that vs. 9 should contain a reference to Judah's great king Yahweh, who would destroy the enemies of his people. Our Immanuel section furnishes that thought. Vs. 8*b* is proven by its form and location to be a gloss. And yet some idea of the time when the deliverance should come is more than natural. The Immanuel section contains it, and that in an unobjectionable form and, put after vs. 9*a*, in an unobjectionable place (so far as this point is concerned). The words are forcible, as Ewald demands, though not exactly few.

4. If a reasonable occasion can be suggested for the displacement of the passage in the course of its history, still more plausible will the theory be.

Can such suggestion be made for this case? The miraculous in the career of the coming Messiah and his reign was more and more emphasized. The Septuagint *παρθένος* for *עלמיה* shows this principle at work on this passage. What more natural than that, when the immediate value of the section was swallowed up in the Messianic value, it should seem more fitting that it should be placed after the *ארת*? Without doubt it is purely and simply its connection with *ארת* which has prevented the suggestion of a break at this point, has kept it in its awkward position between vss. 11–14*a* and vs. 17. And yet the attempt to get back beyond its derived to its original value has, it would seem, revealed a possible line of cleavage just at that place.

SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCES IN ISAIAH 40-66.

BY ALOIS BARTA,

The University of Chicago.

The summaries in the following pages represent in part the results of a systematic study of the syntax of sentences in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66. My object was to investigate the different kinds of sentences and classify the results. This was done without reference to the literary and critical problems connected with the book.

The purpose of the tables is twofold: first, to present some of the more interesting stylistic and syntactical characteristics of these chapters; second, to show their bearing on the question of the unity of the book. Syntax may not be the strongest argument in a discussion of literary authorship; it has nevertheless at least as much weight, if not more than enumeration of words and phrases. For it has been correctly observed that syntax indicates more clearly a writer's method of thinking than does his choice of words and phrases.

The division of the book adopted is due chiefly to recent discussions of the problems connected therewith. Stade,¹ Cornill² *et al.* doubt that chaps. 63-66 come in their present form from the author of chaps. 40-62; Duhm,³ Marti⁴ *et al.* assign chaps. 56-66 to a different writer. This suggested the division into chaps. 40-55, 56-62, 63-66. The first section was subdivided into chaps. 40-48, 49-55, not only because 40-48 form a uniform and closely unified series of prophetic discourses, but also for the sake of convenience in comparisons. Two classes of passages, which required special notice, have been separated from the rest of the book: first, the Ebed Yahweh passages (42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12); then two passages on the foolishness of idolatry, which are treated as glosses by Duhm (44:9-20; 46:6-8). It is impossible in this connection to take up all the other alleged glosses of minor importance. The different sections

¹ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II, p. 70, note.

³ *Das Buch Jesaja*, p. xviii.

² *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*², p. 161.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 361 *sq.*

are indicated by the following letters: A = chaps. 40-48; B = 49-55; C = 56-62; D = 63-66; E = the Ebed Yahweh passages; I = the two passages on idol-worship.

A discussion of the syntactical features of doubtful and difficult passages is impossible in the brief space allowed, and inconvenient because it would seriously interfere with the unity of presentation. Notes on special passages have been reserved for future publication. As my purpose was to classify the material presented by our present Hebrew text, only those textual changes have been made which were demanded by syntax.

1. Table I. shows how the pronominal subject (both of nominal and verbal sentences) is strengthened either by repetition, *e. g.*, 43:25, or by an apposition (pronoun of the third person, *e. g.*, 41:4δ, or a noun, *e. g.*, 41:4γ).

I. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS AS SUBJECTS.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
Strengthened by							
(1) repetition	3	1	1	..	..	..	5
(2) the pronoun of the third person	4	4	..	..	..	..	8
(3) nouns	13	1	2	1	..	..	17

Remark 1.—Usually the pronoun is in the first person, and God the logical subject; the nominal appositions are as a rule divine names. This is due to the controversial style of the earliest chapters, where Yahweh is so often introduced as speaker and his uniqueness and power contrasted with the nothingness of heathen idols.

Remark 2.—Some of the cases under (2) in the table are doubtful. In some cases the pronoun of the third person might be perhaps treated as a copula (*e. g.*, 43:25^a; 46:4^a; 51:12^a, 19^a, etc.). This position is strenuously defended by König.⁵ On the other hand, Kautzsch denies even that קָנָה in 51:19^a is a copula and translates it "illa."⁶ In some cases, *e. g.*, 43:10, 13, etc., the pronoun is explained as predicate by Davidson;⁷ this is most probably the case in 48:12.⁷ The material in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, is hardly sufficient to decide the question, but it seems to me that

⁵ *Syntax*, § 338h.

⁶ Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 122q.

⁷ *Syntax*, § 106, rem. 2.

most of the cases can be explained as pronominal appositions. The pronoun of the third person as a copula is very rare in these chapters.

II. ORDER OF WORDS IN THE NOMINAL SENTENCES (SIMPLE PROPOSITION).

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Regular: Subject-predicate.....	29	9	16	10	8	1	73
2. Inverted (pred.-subj.), the predicate being							
(a) a noun.....	4	4	..	4	2	..	14
(b) a participle.....	3	2	..	..	..	..	5
(c) an adjective.....	..	3	1	..	1	..	4
(d) a preposition.....	4	1	1	..	..	..	6
	11	10	2	4	3	..	29

2. In the verbal sentences only a few peculiarities of the predicate have been noticed:

(a) Verbal apposition in 47:1b,⁸ 5b,⁸ 52:1b.

(b) Infinitive absolute for a finite verb, 42:2a (Kt. perfect), 20b,⁹ 22β;¹⁰ 59:4b (four times), 13 (six times).

(c) הָיָה and participle for a perfect, 59:2a, 15a, β.

Remark 1.—The text of 44:14a, where an infinitive construct is used independently, is undoubtedly corrupt. The infinitive cannot be connected with anything that precedes or follows. Either a finite verb is fallen out before it (Dillmann: שָׁלַח) or it is an error for פָּרַח (Duhm *et al.*). Cf. Dillmann, *ad loc.*

Remark 2.—The predicate is wanting, *e. g.*, 42:19a; 43:2γ, but easily supplied from the context; absence of the predicate is an evidence of a corruption in the text in 44:12a; 49:19a; 66:18a.

III. SOME USAGES OF THE VERBAL PREDICATE.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Infinitive absolute.....	2	..	10	..	1	..	13
2. הָיָה + partic. (= verb. fin.)	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
3. Verbal apposition.....	2	1	..	..	..	..	3

⁸ Second fem. sing. continued by third plur. masc. (indefinite for passive).

⁹ Cf. Marti, *ad loc.*; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 113z. Duhm's change of the text is not necessary.

¹⁰ The text very doubtful. Cf. commentaries, *ad loc.* (Even R. V., "They are all of them snared in holes").

IV. ORDER OF WORDS IN SIMPLE VERBAL PROPOSITIONS.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Regular	156	52	77	67	27	39	418
2. Predicate, etc.: ¹¹							
on account of emphasis ..	38	5	30	8	..	3	84
because of chiasm	4	..	3	..	..	..	7
3. Subject, etc.:							
emphasis	45	17	29	25	11	3	130
chiasm	2	3	3	1	2	..	11
4. Object, etc.:							
emphasis	15	5	11	4	5	4	44
chiasm	13	3	20	2	..	1	39
5. Adverb, etc.:							
emphasis	2	4	2	1	1	..	10
chiasm	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
6. Preposition, etc.:							
emphasis	1	18	18	10	14	6	67
chiasm	1	1	1	2	..	..	5
7. Pred. nom., etc.:							
emphasis .....	..	..	1	..	..	..	1

3. In connection with the copulation of the sentences I have observed the following peculiarities in the tenses of the verb:

(a) In some cases γ simple and the perfect are used to continue a perfect, where we would expect as a rule γ consecutive and the imperfect, *e. g.*, 40:12 γ , δ ; 41:4 α ; 43:12 (twice), 14 b ; 48:16 b ; 55:10 ϵ ; 55:10 ζ ; 44:15 α , b .

(b) Sometimes γ simple and the imperfect occur instead of the consecutive γ with the imperfect. This seems to be due to the desire of an editor or copyist to transform a statement concerning the past into a prediction. The text ought to be changed undoubtedly to read γ consecutive,¹² 41:5 α ; 42:6 α ,¹³ 43:9 α , 28 α ; 48:1 β ; 49:5 b ; 51:2 δ ; 57:17 α ; 63:3 γ , δ , ϵ , 5 α , β , 6 α , β , γ .

(c) There are a few cases where γ simple (separated from the verb) is used for γ consecutive with the imperfect,¹⁴ *e. g.*, 40:18 β , 24 b ; 44:24 b (?); 45:13 β ; 49:13 δ (?); 44:14 b , 18 β , 19 α (?), 20 β (?); 41:25 δ .

Remark 1.—Changes of the order of words due to chiasm are very common in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66.

Remark 2.—Contraction of sentences (about eighty cases, if we count only those in which two or more parts of the contracted sentences are different) is most common in the early chapters, and is due to their poetic form.

¹¹ Usually with slight modifications of the regular order.

¹² Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 107 b , note; König, § 366 t , and commentaries, *ad loc.*

¹³ Parallel with a perfect.

¹⁴ Cf. König, § 366.

Remark 3.—A positive statement is restated in negative terms, or *vice versa*, *e. g.*, 41:9δ; 42:16*b*, 24*b*, etc. Very often this form is used to make more emphatic statements concerning the uniqueness of Yahweh, *e. g.*, 43:11; 44:6*b*, 8*b*, etc.

Remark 4.—Questions (usually rhetorical) continue sometimes simple positive or negative propositions, or *vice versa* (syndetically), *e. g.*, 43:9, 13*b*; 44:7*a*, 8*b*; 45:9*b*; 48:6*a*, etc.

V. GROUPING OF SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
a. Chiasm.....	40	17	21	14	..	..	92
b. ¹⁵ (1) ¹⁶ Syndetic	133	71	112	86	17	27	446
Asyndetic	159	55	74	42	14	20	364
(2) ¹⁷ Syndetic	83	30	50	27	25	2	217
Asyndetic	31	18	15	6	6	1	77
(3) ¹⁸ Syndetic	18	11	15	16	5	3	68
Asyndetic	5	2	3	2	..	..	12
(4) Posit.-negat. or negat.-posit.	8	1	4	2	2	..	17
The same referring to Yahweh's uniqueness	10	..	..	..	..	..	10
c. אֵל.....	18	..	..	..	..	6	24
אֵל or אֱלֹהִים.....	6	..	2	3	..	..	11
אֱלֹהִים.....	4	..	1	..	..	..	5
אֱלֹהִים or אֱלֹהִים.....	..	3	3	1	1	..	8
אֱלֹהִים.....	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
אֱלֹהִים or אֱלֹהִים.....	..	..	3	2	..	..	5

4. Both the imperative and the jussive are used quite frequently to make the style more vivid. The different sections are often introduced by a command to the prophet to preach, or to the audience (frequently imaginary) to listen. Persons, nations, lands, etc., are addressed directly, as if the prophet (or his God) spake to them; coming events are represented as due to immediate commands of Yahweh, etc.

Remark 1.—Sometimes (when absent persons or poetic personifications are addressed) (*a*) the imperative passes into a jussive—usually of the third person—41:1*a*(?),¹⁹ 22*a*; 45:11*b* (jussive of second person), 21*a*; (*b*) the jussive is followed by an imperative, 41:22.

¹⁵ Syndesis and asyndesis.

¹⁶ Progressive.

¹⁷ Synonymous.

¹⁸ Contrast.

¹⁹ Text doubtful; יְהוֹלִיפוּ כֹחַ most probably dittography from 40:31*a* (Duhm *et al.* following Lagarde). Dillmann's explanation, "strength is needed for controversy with Yahweh," is weak. Such an idea is never even suggested in the numerous controversial passages in 2 Isaiah. The phrase is out of place in the context.

Remark 2.—The rhetorical uses of the imperative and the jussive may be roughly divided into the following four classes :

(a) introducing a new strophe or section (usually verbs of speaking and hearing), *e. g.*, 40:1, 14; 41:1; 42:18; 44:1, 21, etc.;

(b) adding color or emphasis to a description, *e. g.*, 40:4, 9; 41:1, 21; 44:11; 43:9, 26, etc.;

(c) ironical, 47:12 *sq.*; 57:13;²⁰

(d) making statements concerning the future more vivid and more emphatic, or representing them as due to direct commands of Yahweh, *e. g.*, 43:6, 8, 22*a*; 44:26, 28; 47:1 *sqq.*, 5; 48:20; 50:1, etc.

Remark 3.—The cohortative is not very frequent; it occurs in 41:1*δ*; 43:26*a*; 50:2*b*, 8*β*; 56:12*a* (twice); 59:10*a*, *β*. In the last passage it is used to express an obligation, "We must"

VI. RHETORICAL USES OF THE IMPERATIVE AND JUSSIVE.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Introducing a strophe or section	18	8	1	1	..	1	29
2. Adding color (or emphasis) to description	12	5	1	..	..	1	19
3. Ironical	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
4. = Emphat. or vivid future.	8	7	2	2	..	..	19

VII. EXCLAMATORY PARTICLES AND NOUNS.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. הנה	9	5	6	11	1	..	32
הן	5	7	4	2	3	1	22
Total	14	12	10	13	4	1	54
2. הוי	2	1	..	..	..	..	3
3. מה .....	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
4. קול	2	1	..	3	..	..	6
5. אשרי .....	..	..	1	..	..	..	1

VIII. OATHS AND OPTATIVE SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Oaths	1 ²¹	2 ²²	..	..	..	3
2. Optative sentences	1 ²³	1 ²⁴	..	..	2

²⁰ If the text is correct.

²¹ הוי אלהי (Yahweh).

²² Imperfect + אם.

²³ Nominal sentence without special indication.

²⁴ לרא + perfect.

5. Few peculiarities have been found in interrogative sentences. The following points may be noticed here:

(a) 44:19 ζ , η ;²⁵ 63:15 γ ; 64:48²⁶ are probably questions without special indication of their interrogative character. They may have been indicated by the tone of the speaker's voice; in the absence of that criterion their character is doubtful and to be decided chiefly by their context.

(b) The members of a double question are synonymous in 66:8 β , γ ($\text{הֲ} + \text{אִם}$), 49:24 $a-b$ ($\text{הֲ} + \text{וְאִם}$); 40:28 $a-\beta$ ($\text{אִם-לֵא} + \text{אִם-לֵא}$); the second is the restatement of the first in negative terms in 50:28- ϵ ($\text{הֲ} + \text{וְאִם}$), and *vice versa* in 66:9 $a-b$ ($\text{אִם} + \text{הֲ}$).

IX. SOME RHETORICAL USES OF THE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. ²⁷ הֲלֵא	12	..	1	1	..	1	15
2. ²⁸ הֲ	4	1	1	1	..	..	7
Some with מִי , מָה	8	2	1	2	4	..	17
3. ²⁹ לְמָה	1	1	1	[1?]	..	..	3
4. ³⁰ Form various.....	5	..	..	1	..	..	6
5. ³¹ " ".....	6	4	1	8	..	4	23

(c) The use of interrogative sentences is mostly rhetorical. Hence an answer is rarely given or expected and the questions pass easily into positive or negative affirmations.

(a) Interrogative sentences with הֲלֵא are used for emphatic positive statements, *e. g.*, 40:21; 42:24 α ; 43:19 β , etc.

(β) Many questions occur instead of emphatic negative propositions; questions introduced by הֲ (all cases in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, *e. g.*, 44:8 δ ; 45:9 γ ; 49:15 a , etc.), by מִי (= Nobody did . . . , *e. g.*, 40:13 *sq.*, 18 a , b , 25 a , etc.), by מָה (= Nothing . . . , 45:9 γ), and by הֲלֵא (= Nowhere . . . , 50:1 β).

²⁵ Cf. Dillmann, *ad loc.*

²⁶ The text is doubtful. The sentence וְנִשְׁעַר might be translated "but we shall be saved;" but it would not suit the context as well as a question: "Thou (O God) art gracious to those who keep thy statutes (4 α). But we have sinned against them; can we be saved?" (Cf. Revised Version.) The question expresses wonder and doubt. Recent exegetes emend the text, suggesting various parallels to וְנִשְׁעַר of Ewald would be perhaps the most suitable reading; cf. LXX. *ἐπλανήθημεν*.

²⁷ = Emphatic positive statement. ²⁸ = Emphatic negative statement. ²⁹ = A rebuke.

³⁰ Interrogative sentence expressing a wish, prayer, or command, etc.

³¹ Interrogative sentences with a shade of doubt or wonder.

(γ) Questions with לָמָּה have the meaning of a rebuke (40:27a; 55:2a; 58:3a; except 63:17a?).

(δ) Some questions express a prayer, wish, or command, *e. g.*, 40:21; 42:23; 43:9γ, 19β; 48:6β; 63:17a (negative).

(ε) Many of the questions have a shade of doubt or wonder, *e. g.*, 40:21; 40:28; 43:19β; 44:10a, etc.

Remark.—In the coördinated sentences, 50:2a, β; 58:3a, β; 66:9a, b, the second has an interrogative force, the first is temporal,³² *e. g.*, 58:3a, “[When] we fast, why dost thou not see?”

6. The following minor points have been noticed in the negative sentences:

(a) אַל is used once with a noun in prohibition, 62:6b (אַל לֵבְךָ לִבְךָ = “Let there be no peace to you” = “Do not keep quiet;” *cf.* vs. 7a: וְאַל תִּתֵּן דְּבַר לִי).

X. THE NEGATIVE PARTICLES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. לֹא + perfect	34	3	13	16	7	2	75
לֹא + imperfect	39	23	23	17	11	7	120
לֹא + noun .....	..	2	..	1	4	2	9
לֹא + preposition	6(5?)	2(+4)	..	..	..	..	12
2. כֹּל + perfect	3	..	..	..	..	..	3
כֹּל + imperfect	1	..	..	..	..	3	4
3. אַל + jussive	12	6	4	4	..	..	26
אַל + noun .....	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
4. אֵין + noun or participle...	29	7	11	5	..	1	53
אֵין + preposition .....	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
5. אֶפְסָה or אֶפְסִי	5	1	..	..	..	..	6

(b) לֹא and אֵין sometimes form one concept with a noun, *e. g.*, 55:2b (לֹא לִשְׁבַּע לֹא לֵהֵם—לֹא and infinitive construct!); 66:3b (לֹא טוֹב = “not good” = “bad”); 40:29β (אֵין חֲוִים = “weak,” governed by preposition לִ); 59:10β (אֵין עִיִּים = “blind,” governed by בְּ).

(c) לֹא בְּ is used for בְּלֹא (“without”) in 45:13ε; *cf.* 55:1b; 48:1ε (four times); the meaning is doubtful in 48:10a (Kautzsch-Ryssel,³³ following the Vulgate, read וְלֹא כִּי־כֹסֶה); likewise אֵין (47:1β), וְאֵין (57:1a; 60:15a), בְּאֵין (57:1b).

³² Or with a concessive shade of meaning, 58:3a, β(?) ; 66:9a, b(?).

³³ *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments: Textkritische Erläuterungen, ad loc.*

(d) אֵין and אַפֶּס may be strengthened by עַד and prepositional phrases :

(a) עַד, 45:5a, 6γ, 14c, 18b, 22b; 46:10β; 47:8β, 10b;

(β) בִּבְלַעְדִּי with pronominal suffixes, 43:11β; 44:6δ; 45:6β;

(γ) זֹלָתָא with pronominal suffixes, 45:5β, 21δ.

7. The use of asyndetic relative sentences³⁴ (without relative particles and pronouns) in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, is large and free.

Remark.—Some asyndetic sentences after nouns governed by כִּי of comparison seem to be in a transitory stage. It is impossible to decide in every case whether כִּי is a preposition or a conjunction. This seems to be the case in 53:7γ, δ; 61:10ε, ζ, 11a (not in 62:1δ; כְּלַפִּיד is parallel with כְּנֶגֶד); 63:14a. It is noteworthy that in five cases (except 53:7δ; 61:10β) the noun is determined, while, as a rule, the antecedent of asyndetic relative sentences is undetermined.

XI. THE RELATIVE SENTENCES.

1. *Syndesis (a) and asyndesis (b).*

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
a. (1) אֲשֶׁר	10	15	11	14	2	1	53
(2) Article .....	..	1(?)	1(?)	..	..	..	2(?)
(3) זֶה	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
(4) מִי (indef.) .....	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
Total	12	18	12	14	2	1	59
b. (5) Asyndetic	31	21	16	11	4	..	83

2. *The antecedent.*

a. Syndetic:							
(1) A substant. with article	..	..	2	2	..	..	4
(2) Proper name	4	4	..	..	..	..	8
(3) A substantive partially determined	3	4	6	5	..	..	18
(4) An undeterm. substant.	1	..	3	4	..	..	8
b. The anteced't of the asynd. relative sentence:							
(1) An undetermined noun	13	7	10	4	1	1	36
(2) A noun partially determined	2	8	..	1	2	1	14
(3) A proper name	3	1	..	..	..	..	4
(4) A substant. with article	..	..	4	1	1	..	6
(5) A pronoun .....	..	..	1	..	1	..	2

³⁴ Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*²⁶, § 155d; Rockendorf: *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, § 171.

XI. THE RELATIVE SENTENCES (CONTINUED).

3. *The place of the independent relative sentence in the main sentence.*

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
a. The syndetic:							
(1) = the subject	1	3	..	..	..	..	4
(2) = a vocative .....	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
(3) An object (accus.)	2	2	..	1	2	1	8
(4) A genit. after a constr..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
(5) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:	1	1	1	2	..	..	5
b. The asyndetic relative sentence is:							
(1) A subject	3	..	..	..	..	..	3
(2) = a vocative .....	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
(3) A pred. nomin. ....	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
(4) An object-accusative ..	4	..	..	..	..	..	4
(5) A genit. after a constr..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
(6) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:	..	..	..	2	..	..	2

4. *The retrospective pronoun.*

a. In the syndet. rel. sentence:							
(1) As object—							
omitted	2	..	1	3	1	..	7
expressed	2	..	1	1	..	..	4
(2) Genitive expressed	3	1	2	1	..	..	7
(3) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:							
omitted	2	3	1	2	..	..	8
expressed	1	2	1	..	1	..	5
b. In asyndet. rel. sentences:							
(1) As object—							
expressed	6	..	2	..	..	..	8
omitted	4	4	3	..	..	..	11
(2) As genitive suffix expressed	3	1	2	..	..	..	6
(3) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:							
expressed	3	..	1	3	1	2	10
omitted	1	2	..	..	..	..	3

8. The circumstantial sentences present hardly any peculiarities. They may have various shades of meaning: causal, 41:24 β ; 53:15a, β , 12b(?); temporal (65:24 δ), concessive (43:8a, b), etc.; but there is nothing unusual in their usage in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66.

9. The subject and object clauses are

(a) asyndetic, 42:21 β ; 48:8 γ ;

(b) introduced by ׀, *e. g.*, 41:23 β ; 43:10 δ ; 45:23 ϵ ; 50:7 δ , etc.;

(c) infinitive clauses, *e. g.*, 42:24; 47:11 β , γ ; 50:4 β ; 51:13 ϵ , etc.

Remark.—Verbal apposition takes the place of an object clause after יָסָה, 47:1b, 5b; 52:1b,³⁵ after רָאָה, 53:11a.³⁶ The first case is remarkable; the governing verb is second person sing. fem., but the apposition is third person plur. masc. (indefinite for an impossible passive).

XII. SUBJECT AND OBJECT CLAUSES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Independent.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
2. With כִּי.....	15	2	6	..	..	..	23
3. Infinitive construct.....	7	..	5	..	..	1	13
4. Infin. construct with לְ....	..	2	1	..	3	..	6

XIII. CAUSAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. כִּי.....	18	32	25	15	1	2	93
2. וְעַתָּה.....	..	..	1	3	..	..	4
3. מֵאַתָּה ³⁷ with preposition....	1	..	..	..	1	..	2
Total.....	19	32	26	18	2	2	99
Infinitive with preposition ...	1	..	..	[1?]	..	..	1

Remark 1.—Simple parataxis for a causal sentence is found, e. g., 48:21β.

Remark 2.—In 65:12γ, δ; 66:4γ, δ two coördinated sentences are introduced by the causal conjunction, which properly belongs to the second—the first in the place of a temporal sentence. Similar is the case of comparisons, where the conjunction precedes the protasis, the apodosis being a causal sentence, 55:9, 10 sq.; 61:11; 62:5a, β; 66:22 (cf. 44:3).

Remark 3.—In some passages the causal sentence does not give the cause of the statement immediately preceding, but rather of a section as a whole in a general way. This is true especially of כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה, when introducing a new section, e. g., 45:18a; 52:3a, 4a; 57:15a; not in 56:4a; 66:12a, where כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה is put in to make the following statement more emphatic. Cf. also 54:9a, though the text is very doubtful.³⁸—It is doubtful

³⁵ Cf. König, § 361.

³⁶ Cf. Kautzsch-Ryssel *in loc.* The verse is freely emended by recent exegetes; cf. Duhm, Marti, *ad loc.*

³⁷ מֵאַתָּה, 43:4b; אֵתְּחִיל, 53:12γ.

³⁸ Cf. Dillmann and Duhm, *ad loc.*

whether "כִּי כֹה אָמַר י" in 49:25 is in its proper place; it separates the answer in vs. 25 from the rhetorical question in vs. 24. Duhm transposes it to the beginning of vs. 24; Marti rather freely cuts out vs. 24 as a gloss.

11. Very few conditional sentences occur in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66.—וְיֵן occurs once (54:15a). To treat it as a particle of exclamation³⁹ is against the context: "Oppression and terror will not come near thee [vs. 24]; if anyone fights against thee it is not from me [= with my approval, 15a]; whoever strives with thee will fall." König's claim, that an apodosis would be wanting, fails, because וְנָשָׂא and its supplement may be an independent sentence; cf., e. g., 46:9; 47:8, 10. The indefinite relative כִּי introduces a condition in 54:15b: If anyone . . .⁴⁰

12, 13. Concessive and restrictive sentences are rare in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, and do not present any peculiarities.

14. In comparisons various forms are used:

(a) Coördination (asyndetic) appears in 62:5a.

(b) The following conjunctions are used:

(a) In protasis כִּי, in apodosis —, 51:13^ε; 66:20b;

(β) " " כִּי, 52:14 sq.; 55:10 sq.; 65:8;

(γ) " " אֲשֶׁר, " " כִּי, 54:9β;

(δ) " " —, " " כִּי, 55:9a; עַל כֵּן, 40:8b.

Remark 1.—An infinitive clause introduced by וְ stands in the place of a comparative sentence in 64:1a and is continued asyndetically by a verbal sentence (imperfect).

Remark 2.—There are some cases of shortened comparisons (besides the simple וְ with a noun):

(a) The inner accusative in 62:5b: "Thy God will rejoice over thee with the joy of the bridegroom over the bride."

(β) וְ and participle, 63:2b: "Thy garment is like the garment of one treading in the wine press."

(γ) One of the things which are compared is the subject, the other a predicate (both participles), 66:3a, e. g., "He that kills an ox (is like him) that slays a man;" cf. Revised Version, Dillmann, Duhm, Marti. The translation of Kautzsch-Ryssel creates

³⁹ König, *Syntax*, § 390y.

⁴⁰ The text of the verse is doubtful, and its meaning not clear. Cheyne emends it freely; Duhm and Marti treat it as a gloss.

⁴¹ "As if" . . . ; cf. Revised Version, margin, Kautzsch-Ryssel, Dillmann; "when," Revised Version, Duhm.

an unnecessary anacoluthon between 3a and 3b: "He that kills an ox (but at the same time) slays a man"

Remark 3.—A nominal sentence seems to be governed by כִּי in 53:3b. Taking כִּי־נִסְתָּר with Dillmann and most recent exegetes to be a noun we may translate: "(He was) like (one) from whom faces are hid." The Revised Version (margin) translates: "He hid as it were (his) face from us." The context favors strongly the first translation (contempt of the people for the suffering servant).

Remark 4.—In 59:18a the second כִּי־עַל is most probably a dittography (Dillmann, Kautzsch-Ryssel, Marti); it is a preposition and requires a noun. Duhm changes the verb יִשְׁלַח to a noun שְׁלִיחַ, but such usage of כִּי־עַל does not occur anywhere else.

XIV. COMPARATIVE SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Asyndetic	1	..	..	1
2. Apodosis—כִּי	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
3. כִּי־אֶשֶׁר	1	..	1	..	..	2
4. כִּי־אֶשֶׁר—כִּי	1	..	1	1	..	3
5. כִּי־אֶשֶׁר—אֶשֶׁר	1	..	..	..	..	1

15. The following conjunctions are used in the temporal sentences:

(a) כִּי (a) with a perfect—in the main sentence a gnomic perfect, 40:7γ;⁴²

(β) with an imperfect (future)—in the apodosis imperfect (future), 43:2a;

(γ) with an imperfect (contin.)—in the main sentence a perfect (present?), 54:6γ;⁴²

(δ) with an imperfect (iterative)—in the apodosis וְ consecutive with the perfect, 58:7γ.

(b) כִּי with an imperfect (future), while in the main sentence we find

(a) an imperfect (future), 42:4β, γ;

(β) a jussive (negative), 62:7b.

⁴² The temporal use of כִּי is doubtful in 40:7γ; 54:6γ. In 40:7γ it may be either temporal (G. A. Smith, *ad loc.*; Marti(?), *ad loc.*) or causal (Kautzsch-Ryssel, Duhm, Cheyne; cf. Dillmann, *ad loc.*).

- (c) טָרַם (only 65:24a) or בָּטָרַם with an imperfect—and
 (a) an imperfect in apodosis: iterative, 42:9γ; future, 65:24a
 (י, separately introduced apodosis).
 (β) a perfect (historical) in apodosis, 48:5γ; 66:7a, β. (In
 β introduced by י, in a asyndetic).

Remark 1.—An independent sentence instead of a temporal sentence is found in 48:13b.

Remark 2.—Infinitive clauses governed by בּוֹ, בִּיָּךְ, and מֵיָדֶיךָ have a temporal meaning, 52:8b; 53:9β; 55:6a, β; 57:13a; 64:2a; 44:7γ; 48:16γ.

16. (1) Simple coördination⁴⁸ of sentences with a final shade of meaning is quite common in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66.

(a) Imperative after an imperative, 45:22a; 46:8a,⁴⁹ 47:28(?);⁵⁰ 55:2γ; 48:14a.

(b) Cohortative:

(a) after an imperative, 41:22δ (twice), 23β; 49:20δ; 51:23δ; 55:5γ;

(β) after a jussive, 41:23δ;⁵¹ 66:5ξ;

(γ) after a perfect, 41:26a.⁵²

(c) Jussive(?) (resp. imperfect with jussive force):

(a) after a jussive, 45:8γ;⁵³ 55:7γ(?);

(β) after an imperfect, 46:6γ;

(γ) after a perfect, 41:26β;⁵⁴

(δ) after a nominal sentence, 41:28b.⁵⁵

(2) Another "lighter" (?)⁵⁶ way of expressing purpose is the use of infinitive construct with לֵּ, quite frequent in Isa. 40-66.

(3) Sentences introduced by conjunctions, all regular in form; the imperfect tense is used:

(a) לֵּבִי־עַן, 41:20a, β; 43:10b, 26b; 44:9δ; 45:3γ, 6a; 66:11a,⁵¹ b,⁵¹

(b) פֶּן (negative: that not, lest), 48:5γ, 6γ.

⁴⁸ A "lighter" way of expressing purpose. Davidson, § 148a; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, §§ 108, 2a; 109, 2a; 163a; Davidson, §§ 64, 65.

⁴⁹ The second imperative is a *ἀπαξ* λ., its meaning uncertain.

⁵⁰ Asyndeton.

⁵¹ Continued by a jussive Kt. וְיָרָא (Marti, *ad loc.*; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 109d; Oort's reading וְיָרָא, from יָרָא, does not fit Yahweh as speaker; cf. vs. 21). Vol. imperfect (Dillmann) or rather imperfect cohortative; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 75f).

⁵² After a question; cf. Davidson, § 65d; from our point of view, rather consequential.

⁵³ With an emendation: וְיָרָא יְשַׁע וְיָרָא יְשַׁע 'וְיָרָא יְשַׁע' removes the syntactical difficulty of the present text.

⁵⁴ After a negative sentence; cf. Davidson, § 65 (*ibid.*, classed by mistake in 65d interrogative).

⁵⁵ Davidson, § 148b.

⁵⁶ Continued by י and perfect consecutive.

XV. FINAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Syndetic imperfect ⁵²	3	1	..	..	..	1	5
“ cohortative	5	3	..	1	..	..	9
Jussive	3	1	..	..	..	1	5
Total	11	5	..	1	..	2	19
2. למען	5	..	..	2	..	1	8
3. פֶּן (negative)	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
4. לְ and infin. construct	9	10	22	8	4	2	55

17. (1) Consequences of a certain action are stated sometimes in

(a) an asyndetic sentence, *e. g.*, 63:19δ; 64:1δ; or

(b) in a sentence connected with the preceding by a לְ, *e. g.*, 46:5b,⁵³ 7β; 53:2b.

(2) Special means of indicating a result are:

(a) infinitive clauses (α) with לְ; (β) with מִן (negative consequence).⁵⁴

XVI. CONSEQUENTIAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Asyndetic .....	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
2. Simple syndetic	1	..	..	..	1	1	3
3. לְ + infinitive .....	..	1	..	..	..	1	2
4. מִן + infinitive (neg.) .....	..	2	8	..	..	2	12

18. I. Parenthetical sentences are used to strengthen or to explain certain parts of the main sentence, as:

(1) (a) the subject—God in all cases—42:8β; 45:18β,⁵⁵ δ,⁵⁶ 51:15γ; 52:6γ; 54:5β, δ; 57:15β;

(b) the object, 48:6a (פֶּלֶה), the object of הִיָּה, being also the object of שָׁמַעְתָּ;

(c) the predicate,⁵⁶ 52:14β, γ;

⁵² Simple syndesis with a final shade of meaning.

⁵³ Or final (7).

⁵⁴ Addendum (b) אֲשֶׁר with imperfect (after imperfect future).

⁵⁵ After participles.

⁵⁶ The parenthesis is introduced by כִּן and takes the place of a causal sentence (“Many were astonished, because,” etc.); מִשְׁחַח to be taken most probably with Duhm, as participle hoph. מִשְׁחַח.

Remark 1.—The parenthesis refers to the divine name (יהוה), 48:8 β ; יהוה צבאות שבו, 51:15 γ ; 54:5 β ⁵⁷), to Yahweh's uniqueness (45:18 β) and wonderful actions (45:18 δ).

Remark 2.—הִנְנִי in 52:6 γ has been translated as direct discourse after הִנְנִי (Dillmann, who compares 40:9; 41:27; Kautzsch-Ryssel, Revised Version, margin). But (1) הִנְנִי alone before direct discourse is unusual; (2) the parallels of Dillmann do not prove anything (אמר in 40:9; independent in 41:27) < Revised Version, Duhm, as in (1) (a) [Cheyne, Marti transfer הִנְנִי (or rather הִנְנִי) to the beginning of vs. 7, which they emend quite freely].

II. The parenthesis is used to mark the direct discourse.⁵⁸

(1) (a) It may be the defective nominal sentence:

(a) נאם יהוה, usually at the conclusion of the discourse, 41:14 γ , etc.;

(β) once נאם אדני י' וגו' in the beginning of the verse, 56:8a.

(2) It may be a verbal sentence, either with the perfect or imperfect of אמר in predicate.

(a) The perfect is used

(a) once with an indefinite subject, 45:24a;

(β) very commonly with יהוה, or similar expressions as subject, 45:13 ζ , etc.

(b) The imperfect is used only five times, 40:1b, 25; 41:21 β ⁵⁹ = 66:9a;⁶⁰ 41:21 δ .⁶⁰

Remark 1.—It is interesting to compare the various ways in which certain verses (or passages) are stamped in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, as divine oracles. We find the following:

(a) The introductory formulas:⁶¹

(a) כה אמר יהוה וגו', 43:14a, 16a; 44:2a, 6a, 24a; 45:1a, 11a, 14a; 48:17a; 49:7a, 8a, 25a; 52:3a; 56:1a; 65:8a;

(β) כה א' אדני י', 49:22a; 52:4a;

(γ) כה א' אדני י', 51:22a;

(δ) כה א' האל יהוה, 42:5a;

(ϵ) כה א' אדני י', 45:18a;

(ζ) כה א' רם וגו', 57:15a;

⁵⁷ Addendum: 57:15 β ,

⁵⁸ Cf. Remark 2.

⁵⁹ β : יאמר יהוה: δ : יאמר יהוה.

⁶⁰ אמר אלהים parallel with יאמר יהוה in vs. 9b.

⁶¹ Sometimes with the addition of various modifications.

- (η) לָכֵן כֹּה א' אֲדַבֵּר י', 65:11a;
 (θ) וְעָתָה אֲמַר יְהוָה, 49:5a;
 (ι) נֹאֵם אֲדַבֵּר יְהוָה, 56:8a.⁶²
 (b) The parenthetical sentences:
 A. Verbal (always אֲמַר):
 (1) The perfect:
 (a) אֲמַר יְהוָה, 48:22; 57:19b; 59:21 (twice); 65:7β;
 66:20a, 21, 23b;
 (β) א' צְבֹאוֹת י', 45:13ζ;
 (γ) אֲמַר אֱלֹהֶיךָ 54:6δ; 66:9β.⁶³
 (δ) א' אֱלֹהֵי, 57:21;
 (ε) א' מִרְחֻמֶּיךָ י', 54:10ε.
 (2) The imperfect:
 (a) יֹאמַר אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, 40:1b;
 (β) י' קְדוֹשׁ, 40:25; ('ק' evidently a proper name; = יִשְׂרָאֵל 'ק');
 (γ) י' יְהוָה, 41:21β;⁶⁴ 66:9a;⁶⁵
 (δ) י' מִלֶּךְ יַעֲקֹב, 41:21δ;⁶⁴
 B. The nominal נֹאֵם יְהוָה (as a rule, concluding an oracle),
 41:14γ; 43:10a; 43:12b; 49:18b; 52:5 (twice); 54:17δ; 55:8b;
 59:20b; 66:2β, 17b, 22a.

Remark 2.—The use of the imperfect is exceptional. It is variously explained.

(a) Praesens historicum (König, § 159b; cf. Targ., אֲמַר, Pesh. 'amar)⁶⁶ is improbable, because even the perfect אֲמַר is used usually of oracles, which are present from the speaker's point of view (perf. praesentiae).

(b) "The call is not a single, momentary one; it is repeated, or at least continued" (Driver, § 33a, O.). This would hardly explain cases (like 40:1b, 25b; 41:21β, δ) in which the imperfect occurs at the beginning of new sections; repetition or duration is hardly the important feature here.

(c) It seems that the presential moment is emphasized in contrast with something that happened, or used to happen (cf. Davidson, § 40b).⁶⁷

⁶² If the Massoretic division of verses (followed, e. g., by R. V., Dillmann, Duhm, Marti) is correct; Ewald, Kautzsch-Ryssel (following LXX) connect it with vs. 7.

⁶³ || יֹאמַר יְהוָה, vs. 9a.

⁶⁴ Parallel.

⁶⁵ || אֲמַר אֱלֹהֶיךָ.

⁶⁶ But LXX: λέγει Vulg.: dicit.

⁶⁷ Cf. Duhm on 40:1, "präsentisch, zum Gedichte passend."

XVII. PARENTHETICAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
Strengthening (or explaining)							
(1) the subject ⁶⁸	3	4	1	..	..	..	8
(2) the predicate .....	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
(3) the object	1	..	..	..	..	..	1

XVIII. FORMULAS INDICATING DIVINE ORACLES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
I. Introductory:							
1. Verbal, consisting of							
אמר יהוה, etc. ⁶⁹	12	7	2	2	..	..	23
2. נאם י' .....	..	..	1(?)	..	..	..	1
II. Parenthetical: (a) verbal,							
(b) nominal—							
a. (1) containing the perfect of אמר ⁶⁹	2	2	4	5	..	..	13
(2) containing the imperfect ראמר ⁶⁹	4	..	..	1	..	..	5
b. (3) נאם יהוה	3	5	1	3	..	..	12

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

I. Some special points in the syntax and style:

1. The copula in nominal sentences is very rare.
 2. The irregular order of words both in nominal and verbal sentences is very common.

3. ׀ and a perfect occurs after a perfect, where historical Hebrew uses ׀ consecutive with the imperfect.

4. Instead of wāw consecutive with the imperfect, wāw separated is sometimes used with the imperfect.

5. Commands are used to introduce new sections (verbs of hearing and speaking), to add force and color to the discourse, to describe future events in a vivid manner.

6. Rhetorical questions are often used for emphatic positive or negative statements, to express a command or wish, doubt or wonder.

7. The negative particles לֹא and אֵין sometimes negate a noun (like German "un-"); אֵין, וְאֵין, and בְּאֵין are used like בְּלֹא (= without).

8. The asyndetic relative sentences are used very frequently, even as independent parts of the main sentence.

⁶⁸ In all cases God.

⁶⁹ With various modifications.

9. The preposition בְּ passes into a comparative conjunction.

10. Purpose is more commonly expressed by simple syndesis (with a final shade of meaning), or by an infinitive construct with preposition, than by final sentences.

II. Some points, which have a bearing on the unity of the book :

1. The pronominal subject with strengthening pronominal or nominal appositions⁷⁰ is found often in A and B; rarely in C; never in D, E, and I.

2. הָיָה with a participle instead of a finite verb occurs only in C (three times).

3. The proportion of syndesis to asyndesis is ca. 2 : 1 in A, B, E, I; $2\frac{1}{2}$: 1 in C; 3 : 1 in D.

4. Chiasm is very common in A, B, C, D; wanting in E and I.

5. Restatement of a positive proposition in negative terms (or *vice versa*) does not occur in I; when referring to Yahweh's uniqueness it is found only in A.

6. בָּל with the perfect occurs only in A, with the imperfect once in A, thrice in I. לֹא־כֵן as a negative is used only in A and B.

7. כִּי as a causal conjunction occurs only in C and D.

8. Use of simple copulative waw (with the jussive, etc.) with a final shade of meaning is frequent in A, B, I; rare in D; wanting in C and E; but the infinitive construct with בְּ is very common in C, D, E, less frequent in A and B.

9. Parenthetical sentences emphasizing the subject (God, as a rule) are used three times in A, four times in B, once in C, twice in E, never in D or I.

10. Formulas marking the discourse as a divine oracle are common in A, B, C, D, wanting in E, I.

CONCLUSION.

Syntax of the sentences can be used as an argument for separating C and D, and probably E and I, from A and B. It cannot be used to divide C and D. It is interesting to note, that the study seems to confirm, from a different point of view, the critical conclusions set forth by recent exegetes, especially by Duhm in his commentary.

⁷⁰ Usually divine names.

APPENDIX I.

INFINITIVE CLAUSES.

I. Infinitive construct⁷¹ without a preposition.

(1) It occurs in 40:16 α ; 42:24 δ , 46:2 β ; 47:11(β)⁷² δ , 12 γ ; 53:10 α ; 58:2 β , 5 β , 6 β , γ , δ , 7 α , 9 δ (twice), 13 γ ; 60:14 α .⁷³

(2) The subject of the infinitive

A. is expressed by a noun following the infinitive, 58:5 γ ;

B. is omitted (α) when it is the same as the subject of the main sentence, 42:24 δ ; 46:2 β ; 47:11(β)⁷³ δ , 12 γ ; 53:10 α ; 58:13 γ ; 60:14 α ; 57:20 β ; 58:2 β ; (b) when indefinite, 40:16 α ; 58:9 δ ; (c) when parallel with the subject of continuing finite verb, 58:6 β , γ , δ , 7 α .

(3) The object of the infinitive

A. is expressed (α) by a noun following the infinitive, 46:2 β : 58:2 β , 5 β , 6 α , β , γ , δ , 7 α , 9 δ , 13 γ ; (b) by a pronominal suffix, 47:11(β) δ ; 53:10 α ;

B. is omitted, 40:16 α .

(4) The order of words in the infinitive clause corresponds usually to the regular order in the verbal sentences: predicate, subject (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), object (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), etc. The only exception is 42:24 δ ,⁷⁴ where a prepositional expression precedes the infinitive; this is probably due to special emphasis⁷⁵ (Dillmann).

(5) The infinitive clause is (α) an object after the verbs אָבַד, 42:24 δ ; יָדַע, 47:11 β , γ ; יָכַל, 46:2 β ; 47:12 γ ; 57:20 β ; הָפִיץ, 53:10 α ; 58:2 β ;⁷⁶ (b) genitive after a construct, 40:16 α ⁷⁷ (יָי); 58:5 β (יָיִם); (c) an adverb, "modi," 60:14 α ;⁷⁸ (d) an expression of negative consequence, 58:13 γ (supply מִן from מִשְׁפָּחַת); (e) subject (resumed after וְהָיָה), 58:6 β , γ , δ , 7 α .

II. Infinitive construct with prepositions:

(1) (α) לְ, 40:20 δ , 22 δ ; 42:7 α , β , 18 b ; 43:20 ϵ ; 44:10 b , 13 ϵ , 15 α , 19 β , 28 b ; 45:1 γ , ϵ , 18 ζ ; 47:14 ϵ , ζ ; 48:9 b , 17 γ ; 49:5 γ , 6 β , γ , b , 8 ϵ , ζ , 9 α ; 50:2 δ , 4 β (twice), δ ; 51:13 ϵ ; 52:4 β ; 54:16 b ; 55:2 β , 7 δ ; 56:1 b (twice), 3 β , 6 β , γ (fem.), δ , 9 b , 11 β , γ ; 57:7 γ , 15 ϵ , ζ ; 58:4 β , δ , 5 γ , 12 δ ; 59:7 β , 14 δ ; 60:9 γ , 11 γ , 13 γ , 21 δ ; 61:1 γ , ϵ , ζ , 2 α , 3 α , β , b ; 63:1 b , 12 b ; 64:1 γ , 6 β ; 65:8 ζ ; 66:15 b , 18 b , 23 b ; (b) מִן, 44:7 γ , 18 β , γ ; 48:4 α ; 49:15 β ; 50:2 γ ;⁷⁹ 54:9 γ , δ (twice); 56:2 γ , δ , 6 δ (= 2 γ); 58:13 ϵ , ζ (twice);⁸⁰ 59:1 α , β , 2 b ; (c) בְּ, 52:8 δ ; 53:9 β (plur.); 55:6 α , b ; 57:13 α ; 64:2 α ; 47:9 ϵ , ζ ;⁷⁹ (d) תַּחַת, 60:15 α ; (e) מֵעַתָּה (composite), 48:16 γ .

⁷¹ Absolute in 42:24 δ ; 57:20 β ; 58:7 α .

⁷² Vs. 11 β after emendation.

⁷³ König, § 117, 1, inf. absolute in shortened form(1); but inf. constr., § 402d, b.

⁷⁴ Addendum: 58:7 α , where a dative (emphatic) precedes the direct object.

⁷⁵ Aramäism? (Duhm, Marti, *et al.*).

⁷⁶ Add.: Hiph. of סָרַר, 58:9 δ .

⁷⁷ Parallel with מִן עֹלָה, cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 45a. König's designation (400c), "Attributiv-satz," is subject to misunderstanding, especially because he applies the same name to relative sentences.

⁷⁸ An inf. absolute used in a similar way, 57:17 β , הִסְתַּר, "with a hiding (of my face)" = in anger; continued by יְ imperfect; cf. König, § 402d.

⁷⁹ A different noun formation used instead of an inf. קָדַרְתָּ in 50:2 γ (cf. 59:1 α), עֲקָמָה in 47:9 ζ .

⁸⁰ מִן of the first infinitive (מִמִּצִּיא) to be carried over also to the second (יָרִבָּר).

(2) The subject of the infinitive

A. is expressed (a) by a noun, 47:9_ε, ζ; 51:10_b; 52:8_b; 54:9_γ; (b) by a pronominal suffix, 44:7_γ; 48:16_γ;⁸¹ 55:6_a, *b*; 57:13_a; 60:15_a; 64:2_a;

B. but most commonly is omitted and is to be supplied from the context. It is identical with (a) parts of the main sentence: (a) with its subject, 42:7_a, β,⁸² 18_b; 43:20_ε; 44:19_β; 48:9_b; 49:5_γ,⁸² 8_ε,⁸² ζ,⁸² 15_β; 50:4_β² (inf. governed by an inf.); 51:14_a, 16_γ (twice), δ; 52:4_β; 54:9_δ; 55:7_δ; 56:1_γ, δ, 2_γ,⁸³ 3_β, 6_δ (= 2_γ), 6_β,⁸³ γ, 9_b, 10_ζ,⁸³ 11_β, γ; 57:7_γ, 15_ε, ζ; 58:2_β, 4_β, δ, 13_ε, ζ; 59:14_δ; 60:9_γ; 63:1_b, 12_b,⁸³ 64:6_β,⁸³ 65:8_ζ; 66:15_b, 18_β, 23_b; (β) with the object, 40:20_δ; 44:13_ε; 48:17_δ; 56:2_δ; 61:1_γ, ε, ζ, 3_a, β;⁸⁴ (γ) with the predicate nominative, 49:6_β,⁸⁵ γ; 58:12_δ; (δ) with a genitive (noun or pron. suffix) connected with the subject, 44:18_β, γ; 50:2_γ; 53:9_β; 59:1_a, β, 7_β; 60:21_δ; 61:3_b; (ε) with a prepositional suffix, 50:2_δ, 4_β¹ (לְדָעַת), δ; (b) the subject of the following verb (finite), 60:13_γ,⁸⁶

C. is indefinite, 40:22_δ; 44:15_a,⁸⁷ 45:18_ζ (= 40:22_δ); 47:14_ε, ζ (ζ = 40:22_δ); 55:2_β,⁸⁸ 60:11_γ; 58:5_γ,⁸⁷ 9_δ.

(3) The object of the infinitive is omitted not only with verbs which are often used without it in finite forms,⁸⁹ but also in others, as בָּעֵר, 44:15_a (cf. 40:16); הִשְׁחִית, 51:13_ε; סָלַח, 55:75;⁹⁰ הִכְפֹּת, 58:4_β; שׁוּם, 61:3_a; הִוָּשִׁיעַ, 63:1_b.

(4) The order of words in the prepositional infinitive clauses corresponds usually to the regular order in the verbal sentences: predicate (infinitive), subject (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), object (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), etc. (43 cases). Exceptions are due (a) to varying emphasis, (b) to chiasm: (a) infinitive, prepositional phrase,⁹¹ object (or pred. nominative), 45:1_γ, ε; 58:4_δ, 5_γ; 60:11_γ; 61:1_ε, ζ, 3_β; 63:12_b; 66:15_γ,⁹² (56:6_δ); (b) object, infinitive, 49:6_γ.

(5) Uses of the infinitive clauses with prepositions.

A. With לְ: (a) purpose, 40:20_δ, 22_δ; 42:7_a, β,⁹³ 18_b; 43:20_ε; 44:10_b (negative, לֹא-לְדָעַת), 13_ε; 45:1_γ,⁹⁴ ε,⁹⁴ 18_ζ; 47:14_ε, ζ; 48:9_b (negative לֹא-לְדָעַת); 49:5_γ,⁹⁴ 8_ε, ζ, 9_a; 50:4_β¹, δ; 51:10_b, 16_γ (twice), δ; 52:4_β; 54:16_b; 55:2_β; 56:6_β, γ, δ, 9_b; 57:7_γ, 15_ε, ζ; 58:4_β, δ, 12_δ; 59:7_β; 60:9_γ,

⁸¹ הָ—; its meaning is not clear, probably a neuter, the things that happened (Dillmann) limited by some especially to the work of Cyrus (Duhm, Marti; parallel with מַלְאָה in vs. 14).

⁸² But see note (1).

⁸³ All after a participle.

⁸⁴ On 59:2_b see note (1).

⁸⁵ So most probably the Hebrew text, Kautzsch-Ryssell.

⁸⁶ Cf. note (1).

⁸⁷ Cf. 40:18_a.

⁸⁸ The clause is practically one concept governed by אֲ ([that which is] not [δt] for satisfying = poor food; cf. לֹא-לְחֹם).

⁸⁹ E. g., שָׁמַע, הָאָזָא.

⁹⁰ This verb used absolutely in finite forms sometimes.

⁹¹ In most cases the order was undoubtedly influenced by the close connection with the verb.

⁹² Reversed to the regular order in δ by chiasm.

⁹³ See note (2) *ad loc.*

⁹⁴ Continued by י separ. and imperfect.

11_γ, 13_γ, 21_δ; 61:1_γ, ε, ζ, 2_α, 3_α, β, b; 63:12_b; 64:1_γ, 6_β; 65:8_ζ (neg. לֹבֶלֶתִי); 66:15_b, 18_α, β, 23_b; (b) consequence, 44:19_β; 50:2_δ;⁹⁵ (c) explicativum, 44:28_β;⁹⁶ 56:3_β. לְאַמֵּר is remarkably rare, after a verb of speaking introducing a direct discourse only in 56:3_β; (d) specification (?), modifying an adjective,⁹⁷ 50:1_b (twice); 63:1_b; (e) indirect object,⁹⁸ 51:14_α; 58:5_γ; (f) direct object, 50:4_β² (after לְדַעַת); 51:13_ε (after כִּי־יָנִי); 55:7_δ (after יִרְבֶּה); 56:10_γ (after יִהְיֶה־לָּהּ), ζ (after partic. constr. [!]) אֲהַבֶּה;⁹⁹ (g) predicate accusative, 48:17_δ (?);¹⁰⁰ (h) predicate nominative, 44:15_α (?);¹⁰⁰ (i) subject, 49:6_β, γ.

B. With בִּי: (a) temporal, 52:8_b; 53:9_β; 55:6_α, β; 57:13_α; 64:2_α;¹⁰¹ (b) concessive, 49:9_ε, ζ.

C. With בְּיָ: (a) temporal, 44:7_γ; 48:16_γ (בְּיָעֵר); (b) negative consequence,¹⁰² 49:15_β; 44:18_β, γ; 52:2_γ; 56:2_γ, δ, 6_δ (= 2_γ); 58:13_ε, ζ; 59:1_α, β, 2_b; (c) negative object clause, 54:9 (thrice);¹⁰³ (d) causal, 48:4_α.

D. With תִּהְיֶה the infinitive clause is practically a substantive, 60:15_α || בְּנֵאִיךָ ע' and בְּשׂוֹשֵׁיךָ (exchange).¹⁰⁴

NOTES.

1. Owing to the nominal character of the infinitives, the need of expressing a subject or object was not so much felt as in the common verbal sentence. Even the context, our best guide, fails to help us in several cases to discover the unexpressed subject of an infinitive clause. Attempts have been made to reason it out by general considerations (circumstances, theology, etc.), with varying success; some cases remain very doubtful, as 42:7_α, β, where we have three views:

(a) The subject is the 'עֶבֶד י' because of 49:5 *sq.* (Dillmann).

(b) The subject is Yahweh himself, as in 49:6, (a) because in 2 Isaiah Yahweh himself is the chief actor, using men only occasionally as his instruments, like Cyrus (Duhm); (β) to take Israel ('עֶבֶד י') as subject makes an ill-balanced sentence ("einen schleppenden Satz;" Marti; rather forced and fanciful).

(c) It is admitted that grammatically both constructions are possible (*cf.* Dillmann and Marti, *ad loc.*); on general grounds, Duhm's opinion seems to be the stronger one.

⁹⁵ Cf. König, § 406b.

⁹⁶ Cf. note (5) *ad loc.*

⁹⁷ Similar to the Latin *supine*; cf. Allen and Greenough, *Latin Grammar*, § 308.

⁹⁸ König, § 399b.

⁹⁹ Addendum, 56:11_β, γ (after יִרְדֵּעַ); 59:14_δ (after רִבְכָּל).

¹⁰⁰ Or is it final?

¹⁰¹ Probably with a causal shade of meaning.

¹⁰² Cf. Brown's *Lexicon*, p. 583 under 7b; König, § 406n.

¹⁰³ Cf. König, § 406r.

¹⁰⁴ Grouped by König (§ 403) among causal-infinitives; but the emphasis is on the contrast between the present desolation and the future glory, which Yahweh will bring about in its place (vs. 15b; cf. vs. 17; 61:3; Duhm, *ad loc.*; Kautzsch-Ryssel; Dillmann).

58:5 γ : The subject is possibly indefinite; but the suffix רֹאשִׁי (and the third person sing. masc. in the continuing finite verb) favors אָרָם of the preceding clause.

59:2b: Though the connection between "face" and "hearing" is somewhat awkward, the subject of מִשְׁמֹעַ is evidently implied in פָּנִים (used for the face of God, God in his relation to man; cf. Duhm, Marti, *et al.*).

In 60:13b the trees enumerated in 13a might be taken as subjects of לִפְנֵי ; two things are against it: (a) first person is used in 13 β ; (b) the usual subject of פָּנֵי , whether used in Piel or Hithp., in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, is Yahweh (55:5; 60:7; cf. 60:21; 61:3, etc.).

2. It is very hard to draw a line always between the different uses of the infinitive clause governed by לֵּ . From the primary meaning of the preposition¹⁰⁵ many different uses have developed, indicating, in general, the goal or aim of a certain action, then even introducing an object-clause (cf. לֵּ with a nominal object), or a subject-clause (due to analogy?).

In 42:7a, β the infinitives have been regarded as gerundiva (explicative: opening the eyes, etc.) by Duhm and Marti; as final infinitives by Dillmann, Kautzsch-Ryssel, *et al.* The latter seems more plausible and fits easier into the context (vs. 7 giving the purpose of the divine call of the servant of vs. 6).

56:1b: The two infinitives have been classed by König with the object-clauses (§ 399w), but קִרְיָבָה is an adjective. The primary meaning of לֵּ ¹⁰⁶ plays its part here in the selection of the preposition: "near to"(ward).¹⁰⁶

3. The infinitive clause in 64:2a connects very poorly with vs. 2b (MT., R. V., "When thou didst terrible things . . . thou camest down"), better with vs. 1b, ". . . nations may tremble, when [because] thou doest terrible things. . . ." Vs. 2b is most probably a gloss, which came from 63:19b (Dillmann, Duhm, Kautzsch-Ryssel, *et al.*).

4. 52:14 γ , δ , בְּיָ with nouns representing shortened infinitive-clauses, e. g., מִדְּרוֹת אֵשׁ .¹⁰⁷

5. In 44:28b וְלֵאמֹר continuing a finite verb is rather unusual; וְ may be epexegetical (= German "und zwar;" cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 114 p.), but it seems best with Kautzsch-Ryssel to strike it out (after Oort); Dillmann would emend it to וְיֵאמֹר , or to וְהֵאמִיר ; (so also Marti); Duhm strikes out 44:28b as a gloss (variant to 26b).

6. Addendum: כִּי + infinitive, 64:1a. Subject noun, object noun; order regular; comparison, continued by an asyndetic verbal sentence (imperfect iterative).

¹⁰⁵ Indicating direction (mostly ideal); see Davidson, § 101 Rb; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 114 sq.

¹⁰⁶ Likewise after verbs of coming, going, etc.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. König, § 406n.

APPENDIX II.

USE OF THE PARTICIPLES IN ISAIAH, CHAPS. 40-66.

The participle presents some difficulties of treatment on account of its double nature (verbal + nominal). There are some participles frequently used in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, which are used as common nouns (e. g., נִצָּל, נִצָּר, etc.), and need not be considered here. Even if we exclude those, the use of participles may be called large.

I. WITH THE ARTICLE.

The determined participle is used

- (a) as subject, 40:26a¹⁰⁸ (?); 42:17 (twice); 45:20b¹, 47:13b; 46:6a; 57:13b; 59:5b; 63:11b (twice); 65:16a, b (passive), 20b; 66:17a (twice); 59:5d (passive);
- (b) as predicate, 44:26b, 27a, 28a; 45:3b, 51:9b, 10 (twice); 52:6b;
- (c) as attribute,¹¹² 43:16a, 17a; 47:8a;
- (d) in apposition to a noun,¹⁰⁹ 46:3b; 48:1a (?); 57:5a (passive); 65:2b, 3b, 4 sq. (three times);
- (e) as a vocative, 62:6b; 65:11 (three times); 66:10;
- (f) as a genitive after a noun in the construct state, 43:7a (passive); 45:24b (passive);
- (g) more or less independently, 40:22a, b, 23a; 51:20b.

II. WITHOUT THE ARTICLE.

The undetermined participle occurs in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66,

- (a) as subject,¹¹⁰ (α) 41:4β, 7a; 42:5 (4); 43:15b; 45:20b; 46:1b¹¹¹ (passive); 49:11a (passive), 17b, 19b; 54:5a; 57:15 (2); 59:15β; 61:6β; 62:9a, b; (β) in negative sentence with לֹא, 41:26b (3); 43:11b, 13β; 47:15b; 51:18a, b; [ad. (α) 47:13b, Q] (α) 54:10b; 50:8a; 63:12 sq. (3); 66:3a (4); (β) 59:4a, β, 16β; 63:5a, β; 64:6a, β;
- (b) as predicate, 40:10β; 41:13a, 17a; 42:9b; 43:3β, 19a, 25b; 45:7 (5); 44:24b (3), 26a; 46:1a, 1b (passive); 45:19b (2); 48:13b, 17b (2); 49:10, 26b (2); 50:10a²; 51:10b, 12a, 15a, 19a; 52:5b (passive), 12 (2); 54:10a, 11b; 53:3a (2, passive), 5a (2, passive), 7a? (passive); 56:1γ (passive); 56:4b; 57:1β; 60:16b; 61:8a, β; 64:7b; 65:24b; 66:3 (3), 12a, 22a², 22a¹;¹¹²
- (c) as attribute, 40:28β; 40:29a; 43:1a; 44:24β; 45:15a, b, 21η, 18 (3); 48:12 (passive); 51:13 (3), 20a (passive); 54:16β, γ; 56:2b (2), 3β,¹¹³ 6a, 8a, 10b (3[?]); 49:5a; 65:2a; 66:5, 12β, 19a;
- (d) in apposition to a noun,¹¹⁴ 46:10a, b, 11a; 57:3b, 5a, b; 65:3b (2);
- (e) as a vocative, 51:1a, 7a; 50:11a; 51:21b; 52:11b; 65:11a; 66:10a;

¹⁰⁸ Defective answer to a question(?).

¹¹¹ Text uncertain.

¹⁰⁹ Sometimes impossible to distinguish.

¹¹² 65:17a, 18a, b; 66:6b(?).

¹¹⁰ Addendum: 66:17a.

¹¹³ With a slight emendation, הַנִּצָּלָה.

¹¹⁴ Sometimes hardly distinguishable from the attribute.

- (*f*) as a genitive after a noun in construct state, 40:3_a,¹¹⁵ 6_a,¹¹⁵ 52:7;
 60:14_a, β ; 56:6 β^1 ; 59:8 γ ;
 (*g*) as object: 41:7_a; 44:2_a,¹¹⁶ 56:6 b^2 ,¹¹⁶ 64:4 (2); 65:9_a;
 (*h*) as predicate nominative, 47:13 γ ; 49:26_a; 59:2_a,¹¹⁷ 15_a,¹¹⁷ β ,¹¹⁷
 61:9_b; 63:8_b;
 (*i*) predicate accusative, 53:4_b (3, passive);
 (*k*) with preposition, 63:3_b (פ);
 (*l*) after הַי, 45:9_a, 10_a;
 (*m*) independent, 41:7_b(?).

¹¹⁵ After קִיל (exclamat.).

¹¹⁶ *Casus pendens* resumed by a pronominal suffix of the verb.

¹¹⁷ With הַיְיָ = finite verb.

NOTES ON THE PANTHEON OF THE GUDEAN CYLINDERS.¹

BY IRA MAURICE PRICE,
The University of Chicago.

The religious systems and worship of ancient Babylonia form a new and fascinating field for research. The great stretch of time covered by the history of the ancient peoples of that valley, and the fragmentary character of the material available on some periods of that history, render the solution of many of its problems doubly difficult. Since we are not in possession of documents covering the entire history, and cannot follow the development of the various ideas through successive ages, it is of prime importance that we secure material produced in specific places and at definite times.

When we turn to the period of Gudea, we have such a basis for our investigations. Although we may not be able to determine with exactness the date of the reign of that ruler, his period of activity furnishes us definite limits within which to work. The character of the religious system of his day, as of all times, was in large part due to the character of the pantheon which stood behind it. The divinities already discovered in the material of this period are many and complicated in their number, relations, and functions. It is only by a careful examination of the evidence of each available document that we are enabled to find a solution of some of these problems.

The first published attempt to classify the divinities of the period of Gudea was made by M. A. Amiaud,² and was based mainly on the long list of eighteen divine names found on Statue B of Gudea.³ Professor John D. Davis, of Princeton University, gleaned after Amiaud a few additional facts, as seen in his paper on "The Gods of Shirpurla,"⁴ from Gudean and other sources. Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., has admirably summarized our

¹ A paper read before the American Oriental Society at Philadelphia, April 20, 1900.

² *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 57 sq.

³ Published in *Découvertes en Chaldée*, plates 16-19, col. viii, ll. 44 sq.

⁴ *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XVI (1895), pp. ccxiii sq.

knowledge of these divinities up to 1898 in his valuable contribution to the history of religion.⁵

The hypothesis set forth by Amiaud, and followed in the main by Davis, is that Shirpurla in the inscriptions was used to cover several either adjacent cities or sections of one city. These sections or districts were (1) Girsu-ki, a royal section, in which was found the temple of Ningirsu, the patron deity of the royal house; (2) Uru-azagga, the seat of worship of the goddess Gatumdug, mother of Shirpurla, and of the goddess Bau, local mistress of Uru-azagga; (3) Ninā-ki, over which Ninā presided; (4) Gishgalla-ki, of which the goddess Innanna, Ninni, or Nanā was patron deity. Probability lies in the direction of the confirmation of this theory. On this basis, at least at present, further investigations may safely be made.

The conclusions already reached by Amiaud and Davis establish (1) that there was a known genealogy of the gods in the time of Gudea, (2) that in this genealogy the order Anu, Bel, and Ea was fixed, and (3) that these three divinities stood at or near the head of the divine succession.

It is the purpose of the writer to present some facts gathered from a study of the Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea,⁶ confirmatory of positions already occupied, and to adduce additional lines of evidence on the relations and functions of certain deities in the pantheon of that period. Little more can be done than to present in this place some of the main facts of most importance on the general theme, reserving the minutest details for treatment in another place.

The center of population over which the *patesis* exercised their sway was Shirpurla, or Lagash,⁷ embracing, as already noted, several districts or municipalities. This Lagash was under the immediate protection of the goddess Gatumdug, "the mother of Shirpurla" (Cyl. A, xx, 17; Stat. B, viii, 55; also de Sarzec's *Déc.*, pl. 5, No. 2, 2), though her throne was established in that section of the domain called Uru-azagga (de Sarzec, *Déc.*, pl. 14, col. iii, 6). The identification of Bau and Gatumdug as one and the same deity,⁸ though they possessed some

⁵ *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898, chaps. iii, iv.

⁶ *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea*. By Ira Maurice Price. Part I, Text and Sign List. Leipzig, 1899.

⁷ Pinches, *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, London, 1884, p. 7.

⁸ Cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 61.

attributes in common, is not established in the period of Gudea. Again, the preëminence of Gatumdug is seen in the fact that Gudea himself is called her son or offspring (Cyl. A, xvii, 12, 13). In devotion to her he prepares her a dwelling-place in the Uru-azagga section of the quadruple city.

The four sections of the municipality of Lagash had each its own special patron divinity. In the light of the Gudean cylinders I shall point out some of their family relations, functions, and characteristics.

The first or chief quarter was under the protection of the most prominent of these divinities, Ningirsu, or "lord of Girsu." This deity is mentioned by name more than seventy-five times on these two Gudean cylinders. To specify all his great deeds and his relations would more than occupy our space. In several passages we find special mention of the temple of Ninnu (50) of Ningirsu, and of the sacrifices gratefully offered therein by Gudea the *patesi*. Within the precincts of this city, too, was found the palace of the ruler. Ningirsu himself is called "the son of Enlil" (Cyl. A, vii, 5; viii, 21; Cyl. B, vi, 6), "the hero of Enlil" (Cyl. A, x, 4), "the beloved warrior of Enlil" (Cyl. B, vi, 6), "the one who fights his battles" (Cyl. A, xvii, 20), the one who appoints and endows with authority the *patesis*. Gudea calls himself the builder of the temple of Ninnu for his lord Ningirsu, and repeatedly designates himself as the lord of [appointed by] Ningirsu.

We are also informed in these cylinders of Ningirsu's own immediate family relations. His consort was the goddess Bau (Cyl. B, xi, 11, 12), the patron divinity of Uru-azagga (de Sarzec, *Déc.*, pl. 13, No. 2, col. i, 4; col. iii, 18, 19). His two best-known and most important sons were Gal-alim, "the beloved son" (Cyl. B, vi, 22, 23; cf. Cyl. A, xviii, 14; Stat. B, ii, 19), and Dun-shag-ga (Cyl. B, vii, 10; cf. Stat. B, iii, 2), both of whom are mentioned in the long list of divinities found on Statue B (col. viii, 65, 66), without, however, any specification of their family relationships. A list of seven other sons will be noted later on.

The second district of the domain of Lagash, Uru-azagga, "the glorious city," was under the supervision of the patron goddess Bau. Her preëminence in this quarter made her of first importance in the pantheon of Gudea. She is mentioned at least

seven times on these cylinders, and in such connections as to define with some clearness her family connections and her position. She is the firstborn or chief daughter of the god Anna, or Anu (Cyl. A, xx, 19; Stat. B, viii, 57, 58), the god of the sky. She was the wife of Ningirsu, the chief god of Lagash. Gudea calls her his chief mistress (Cyl. A, xxiv, 6) and credits her with being his source of power.

The union of Ningirsu and Bau, the two ruling divinities of Girsu and Uru-azagga, may have had political as well as religious significance for the coalition of authority in these early districts or cities. The offspring of this union presents some peculiarities. In his discussion of "the pantheon of Shirpurla,"⁹ Amiaud mentions as the sons of Bau seven different names. The passage which he saw was probably Cyl. B, xi, 4-12, where we find the following seven names, varying somewhat from the readings adopted by Amiaud: dingir ZA-ZA-RU, d. IM-PA-UD-DU, Ur-e-nun-ta-ud-dû-a, d. HE-GIR-NUN-NA, d. HE-SHAG-GA, d. GU-UR-MU, d. ZA-AR-MU—"seven male children of the goddess Bau, sons of the lord Ningirsu." It may be significant that before all of these names except one we find the determinative dingir, "god." There are no indications of the office or character of these sons, and we await a fuller display of the literature of this period to know whether at a later date they had any part or place in the religious development of Lagash.

It was noted above that Bau was the chief daughter of Anna. On Cyl. B (xxiii, 5) we find that Nin-gish-zi-da (mentioned five times on these cylinders) was a son (!) of Anna. This lord of "the right-hand scepter" is supposed by Jastrow¹⁰ to be merely a title, descriptive of Ningirsu in some traits of his character. The position of the name on Stat. B (ix, 4) and its connections in Cyl. A (xviii, 15) scarcely bear out this supposition. The modern tendency to reduce the number of divinities in the pantheon of this period receives no encouragement from the literature of Gudea.

The third section of the city of Lagash was Nina-ki, presided over by a divinity provisionally called Nina, "house of the fish," the character so read being identical with that which

⁹ *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. I, p. 59.

¹⁰ *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 92.

at a later date was read "Nineveh." This character occurs seventeen times on these cylinders, and in its connections reveals some interesting facts.

Ninā is said to have been a "child of Eridu (Cyl. A, xx, 16), to have appointed rulers (A, xiii, 19), and to have issued decrees. Add to these the evidence of the old Babylonian inscriptions, and we find that she was a daughter of Ea (OBI, I, pl. 30, col. i, 22), and thus a sister of Marduk. Her oldest daughter, as seen on Statue B (viii, 68; ix, 1), was Nin-mar.

The fourth section of this city Lagash, provisionally read Gishgalla¹¹-ki, was under the guardianship of Nanā (Ninni, Innana). One ancient text makes her the daughter of the moon-god Sin (En-zu) (*PSBA.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 158, 159). The ten passages in which this name is mentioned are as yet so obscure as to contribute little to our scanty knowledge of this divinity. In one passage (Cyl. A, xxv, 11) we find mention of a temple in connection with her name, in another she is celebrated, and in a third we find mention of the oracle of this divinity. It may be true that her association with Ningirsu, the one male ruler among the four divinities controlling Lagash, made her a member of his family, and hence one of the important factors in the power exercised over that domain.

Aside from the families of divinities connected immediately with the sway over the domain of Lagash, we find evidence of other gods in these documents of Gudea. The three great parent gods of the rulers of Lagash figure in a number of inscriptions. Following the order mentioned in the list on Statue B (viii, 44—ix, 4), we find that the goddess Bau was a daughter and Ningishzida was a son (!) of Anna (Anu), the god of the heavens; also that to him (Cyl. B, xvi, 18) a glorious temple was dedicated, and that Gudea himself was one of his devotees.

Enlil, or Bel, was the second of these parent gods. The fact that the most prominent god in Lagash, Ningirsu, was a son of Enlil accounts in part for the frequent mention of the latter's name in the inscriptions of Gudea. The tender and close relationship existing between Enlil and his beloved hero son, Ningirsu, is everywhere lauded. His connection with the temple of Ninnu (50) and its service, and his authority beyond the limits of Lagash, are recorded on these cylinders.

¹¹ Cf. Ball. *PSBA.*, Vol. XV, pp. 51 sq.; Hommel, *ibid.*, pp. 108 sq.

The third parent god is Enki, or Ea, mentioned but a few times on Cylinder A. In one obscure passage, containing an unidentified sign, he is named in connection with Nannar. In one other passage a temple of Ea receives special mention.

Ninḥarsag, "mistress of the mountain," as her name indicates, who is said, on other inscriptions, to be the wife of Bel and the mother of the gods, receives slight notice on these cylinders, and then in such connections as to give us no new light on her attributes and character.

Enzu, the moon-god Sin, is twice mentioned on Cyl. B. He is the firstborn son of Enlil, and was also worshiped in the temple of Ninnu (50). His domain stretched far beyond the special precincts of Lagash.

Nindar, read Ninsia by Jensen,¹² a royal warrior, is mentioned three times on these documents. Once he is named in connection with the city of Eridu, and once as related to a temple.

Babbar, or Shamash, the sun-god, appears about ten times. In two passages he is named as belonging to the city of Lagash, and in one as exercising his authority and sway over all outside territory.

The name of another divinity not mentioned on Statue B occurs in three passages on Cyl. A. This is Nisaba,¹³ or, as Delitzsch (*HWB.*, p. 471a) seems to prefer to read, Nidaba. In one passage this divinity is mentioned in connection with Gatumdug (Cyl. A, xvii, 14), while the other sheds little light on our scant knowledge.

Nannar is the name of a divinity twice named on Cyl. A. In one passage the name occurs in connection with Enki, or Ea, the passage carrying two signs difficult of identification Brünnow¹⁴ cites (No. 6455) the same ideogram as signifying the god Sin.

There is also quite a number of gods on these cylinders whose names are rare; some of the readings of the signs used are at present merely provisional. Among these we find (1) dingir Kadi (Cyl. A, x, 26), mentioned elsewhere in Zimmern's "*Shurputafeln*;" (2) dingir Mush (or Şiru) (Cyl. A, xxvii, 1), likewise found in Zimmern's "*Shurputafeln*" (cf. Brünnow,

¹² *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. III, p. 24.

¹³ Cf. Zimmern in *ZA.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 278, 283.

¹⁴ *Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs*.

No. 7641); (3) dingir Ningul (Cyl. B, xxiii, 6; cf. Jastrow, p. 95); (4) dingir Nindub (Cyl. A, vi, 5, etc.); (5) dingir Ninmaḥ (Cyl. B, xix, 15); (6) dingir Nintu (Cyl. A, xvi, 26).

Another name of somewhat frequent occurrence presents some considerable difficulty. It is either the name of a god or that of a temple. It may be read Im-mi-ḥu-bar-bar-ra, though Jensen¹⁵ prefers to read Im-gig-ḡu-bar-bar-ra and to take it as the name of a temple. But the fact that the name Im-mi-ḥu occurs with the sign for god before it in eight passages would point to a larger significance, and presumably to that of a divinity.

There are also other gods named in these cylinders whose signs are either not identified or their readings are still unknown.

These few brief notes are sufficient to point out the fact that the Gudean cylinders will be a fruitful source of material for the study of the Babylonian pantheon of this period. Detailed facts gathered from these sources will be presented in Part II of *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea*.

¹⁵ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III, p. 23, note *†.

NOTES ON THE PSALMS.

BY PROFESSOR AUGUSTUS S. CARRIER, D.D.,
McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

I.

One of the most interesting phenomena in Hebrew syntax is the nominal clause. It occurs throughout Hebrew literature and is, of course, not confined to any particular book; but there are striking examples of its use in the Psalms, the correct treatment of which will at least make our renderings more exact.

A nominal clause is a sentence whose subject is either a noun or pronoun, and whose predicate is likewise a noun, pronoun, adjective, or participle. No verb is expressed in the Hebrew in such cases, but some form of the verb *to be* may often be supplied. Such a sentence expresses state or condition, not action. When the predicate is a participle, the state is generally an active one. The participle photographs, as it were, some particular point of a moving scene. When the predicate is a noun or adjective, an inherent state is described, and often one which is passive. An example may be found in Ps. 42:8, תְּהוֹמוֹת אֶל-תְּהוֹמוֹת קוֹרֶא, "Deep unto deep is calling." The picture is vivid. The poet does not content himself with a statement of what is customary, nor merely continuous, but by a bold stroke portrays that which would challenge the immediate attention of the traveler. The external, patent condition in that distant land is the roar of the cataracts. The construction employed, therefore, is nominal, and the expressive word is a participle.

Another example is in Ps. 8, where we read: יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מָה אֲדִיר שִׁמְךָ בְּכָל-אֲרָץ "Yahweh our Lord, how majestic is thy name in all the earth!" The predicate is an adjective and expresses the inherent quality of God's name. The condition or state is passive, not active. It does not produce an effect, but is merely contemplated as existing. The construction with the participle is very closely akin to that of the imperfect and is often confused with it in translation, while sentences whose

predicates are nouns resemble those with the perfect. This is quite natural when we discover that the perfect describes a *fact* and the imperfect an *action*.

Nominal clauses do not always require to have the verb *to be* supplied, for they are not always independent and coördinate sentences. They are oftentimes dependent clauses and form parts of a complex sentence. In the Revised Version, and in translations generally, the distinctions between verbal and nominal sentences are frequently confused. Participial clauses are often rendered as if identical with sentences having the imperfect, and are thereby given a continuative force which they do not possess. Again, nominal clauses are treated at times as if coördinate with an accompanying sentence, containing a perfect or imperfect tense. In the latter case it will be found that the nominal clause is either a subject or an object.

Taking a very familiar example, Ps. 23:1, we shall be able to illustrate one or two points. In the first place the emphasis is not "Yahweh [rather than Asshur, or some other deity] is *my* shepherd," nor "Yahweh [the great God] condescends to be *my* shepherd," but "Yahweh being my shepherd, I shall not want." That is, shepherding care is one of the phases of Yahweh's activity, a phase which excites not the psalmist's wonder so much as his faith. Again, the words יהוה רעי are not to be taken as a sentence coördinate, or nearly so, with לֹא אֶחְסָר, but as a circumstantial clause, expressing the simple, confident recognition of Yahweh's relation to the psalmist.

In Ps. 16:11 occur several nominal clauses which are usually translated as if coördinate with the first clause and its leading verb. This is the rendering of the Revised Version: "Thou wilt show me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy; in thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore." The verb at the beginning is plainly a jussive, and shown to be such by its position, for it is the first word in the sentence. It should, therefore, be translated "show me" ("cause me to know"). The noun-clauses should all be taken as objects of תִּתְּנֵנִי, and the translation should be as follows:

Show me the path of life,
The satisfying fulness of joys in thy presence,
The delightful experiences which are at thy right
hand forever.

U. O. M.

In Ps. 46:10 the nominal clause is the subject of the succeeding verbs. The ninth verse reads :

Come see the wonderful acts of Yahweh,
How he hath set desolations in the earth ;

and the tenth verse is rendered in the R. V. as if the participle clause **מִשְׁבִּית מִלְחָמוֹת עַד-קֵצָה הָאָרֶץ** were coördinate with the two following :

He *maketh* wars *to cease* to the end of the earth,
He breaketh the bow and cutteth the spear in sunder,
He burneth the chariots in the fire.

But while **מִשְׁבִּית** is a participle, two of the succeeding verbs are imperfects and the other a perfect with w&w consecutive. It is contrary to the analogy of the language to render the participle by exactly the same tense-form as the imperfects of customary action. The first four words of the tenth verse are more naturally taken as the compound subject of the verbs which follow, which gives us the following translation :

He that causeth wars to cease to the ends of the earth
breaketh the bow
And cutteth the spear in sunder, the chariot he burneth
in the fire.

The case is precisely similar to Ps. 2:4, **יֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׁחָק**, where the participial clause is plainly the subject of the verb and in apposition to **אֱלֹהִים** in the next clause. The vividness of the participial construction, however, can be brought out best by the following translation :

There is one sitting in the heavens.
He is laughing —
Even the Lord —
He is mocking at them.

The first verse of the ninety-first psalm has always been a *crux* to interpreters. The accepted and well-known translation is :

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High
Shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

Or, according to the margin of the R. V., "He that dwelleth . . . that abideth under the shadow of the Almighty, even I, will say," etc. The margin makes the twofold mistake of treating the participle **יֹשֵׁב** and the imperfect **יִתְחַבֵּט** as if they were exactly

coördinate, and as if both were clauses in apposition to "I" and subjects of אֲנִי (vs. 2). The text of the R. V. is much better, though I should prefer to translate either thus, bringing out the continuative force of יִתְלוֹךְ:

The dweller in the secret place of the Most High
Will ever lodge (continually abide) under the shadow of the
Almighty;

or thus:

There is one sitting in the secret place of the Most High!
He will ever abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

The latter rendering removes in part, at least, the objection that the two clauses in our version are tautologous. It is justified by the fact that the participle יוֹשֵׁב describes a state, "Lo, there is one sitting aloft in the cleft of the rocks," בִּסְתֵר קַלְיוֹן, while the imperfect at the end of the verse goes on to describe the results that will follow. The rendering is further justified by the dramatic character of the psalm: one down in the valley calls to the one who has found a safe shelter under some overhanging rock, and describes his security and blessedness.

II.

A peculiarity of psalm syntax which is quite generally overlooked is the balance of tenses in parallel clauses. Ps. 2 has interesting illustrations of this. In vs. 1a the perfect is used, in 1b the imperfect. This is reversed in vs. 2, giving a chiasmic structure. In Ps. 24:2 is another good example. In such cases it ought to be manifest that the translation of the two verbs by the same tense-form is incorrect.

In Ps. 2:1 רָגַשׁ expresses a *fact* which is the necessary antecedent of the events described in vss. 1b and 2. יִהְיֶה is in the imperfect because the writer is describing the *actions* which are taking place, namely, the plots and schemes of the insurgent nations and their rulers. Vs. 2 presents in the imperfect יִתְצַב a picture of troops arriving and falling into line preparatory to the great revolt, while the final verb נִסְכְּרוּ is perfect, because the initiatory fact is again brought forward, "the rulers *have taken* counsel together," hence these great movements. Let us translate, then, in this way:

Wherefore have the nations raged,
 And the peoples—why are they engaging in empty plots?
 Kings of the earth are setting themselves in array,
 And as for the rulers, they have (already) taken counsel
 together
 Against Yahweh and against his anointed.

The balance of tenses in Ps. 24:2 may be brought out thus:

For he [Yahweh] founded it upon the seas,
 And upon the streams he still holds it fast.

III.

There are many cases in which the correct rendering of the original is missed because the jussive imperfect is overlooked or ignored. Numerous instances can be cited from the R. V. where no adequate attention is given to this tense-form. Yet the jussive is unmistakable when the verb is *יִזְכֹּר* or *יִלְחֹם*. And though in other classes of verbs it does not as a rule have a distinctive form, nevertheless an imperfect preceded by the simple *wāw*, or standing as the first word in a sentence, is almost invariably a jussive. Exceptions to the latter case are probably only apparent, or are due to the Massoretic verse-divisions, which at times arbitrarily cut across a homogeneous sentence.

There are two main uses of the jussive: first, it is employed with an imperative force; and, second, it is used in the apodosis, in which case it usually is preceded by the simple *wāw*, and need not be translated with the auxiliary "let" or "shall." Ps. 72 contains a number of very instructive examples of the jussive with the imperative force.

The difficult passage Ps. 49:8-10 is misunderstood and mis-translated through a complete disregard of the principles of Hebrew syntax. The R. V. translates:

None of them can by any means redeem his brother,
 Nor give to God a ransom for him.
 (For the redemption of their soul is costly,
 And must be let alone forever)
 That he should still live away,
 That he should not see corruption (*marg.*, the pit).

The Amer. Rev. for *soul* read *life*, and for *and must be let alone* read *and it faileth*. Baethgen translates in much the same way,

except that he reads אֶחָד in vs. 8 for אֶחָד (*cf.* vs. 16) and יִפְדֶּה for יִפְדֶּה .

Vs. 9, the portion usually treated as a parenthesis, is the one around which the main difficulty centers. The verb at the beginning of vs. 10 is וַיְחִי , the apocopated form, and is used with the simple wāw ; it is therefore the jussive, but in this case, being in the apodosis, the translation, "that he should still live away," is perfectly consistent and correct; but the tense in vs. 9a is also imperfect and is preceded by the simple wāw . There is absolutely no reason for assuming a construction for וַיִּקַּר (vs. 9) different from וַיְחִי (vs. 10); they are both imperfects of the apodosis, dependent upon לֹא יִתֵּן (vs. 8). וַיְחַדֵּל , the second verb of vs. 9, is perfect with wāw consecutive, continuing וַיִּקַּר and likewise dependent on לֹא יִתֵּן .

The constructions in vs. 9 are, however, elliptical. וַיִּקַּר in the majority of instances is followed by בְּעֵינָיו or לֵב ; *cf.* 1 Sam. 26:21; 2 Kings 1:13, 14, in each of which passages נַפֶּשׁ is the subject. Ps. 72:14 is another instructive example: $\text{וַיִּקַּר רָחִים בְּעֵינָיו}$. In Ps. 49:9, if we supply בְּעֵינָיו , the sense of the clause will be "that the redemption money which the man would offer should have any value in God's eyes."

Again, וַיְחַדֵּל usually has the meaning "to leave," "leave off," "desist from." It is sometimes followed by the accusative, and sometimes by מִן ; *cf.* Judg. 9:9, "Shall I leave my fatness" (accus.); Exod. 14:12, "Cease from us," בְּיָמֵנוּ "let us alone and let us serve the Egyptians." In Ps. 49 וַיְחַדֵּל should be given its regular meaning, and its subject should be supplied from אֱלֹהִים (vs. 8), its object, to be understood, is the man who hypothetically offers the ransom. The translation, therefore, which commends itself is the following:

8. Not a man [of mine enemies] can find redemption,
He cannot give to God his ransom,
9. So that the redemption of his life¹ should be valuable
[in God's eyes],
And that He [God] should cease [from him, the man]
forever,
10. That he [the man] should go on living forever,
That he should not see the pit.

¹ Read נַפְשׁוֹ .

Book Notices.

ZIMMERN'S CONTRIBUTIONS ON THE BABYLONIAN RELIGION.¹

The Babylonians had a religion of their own. And the more important for us still is the fact that they have left for later ages an abundant religious literature. The inherent value of these documents and their fruits available for comparative religion have already turned the energies of a group of Assyriologists to this specific line of study. Among those who have given or are now giving attention to this fruitful field may be mentioned Lenormant, Sayce, Zimmern, Knudtzon, Jensen, Jastrow, Craig, and King. Zimmern's *Babylonische Busspsalmen* gave him an acknowledged place in this field, and was simply the forerunner of more detailed and more specialized investigations.

The first part of this work appeared in 1896 under the title, *Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu*, and consisted of 80 pages and 19 autographic plates, with list of deities, glossary, etc. The first half of the second part bears the sub-title, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger*. The Introduction of 15 pages summarizes the material and important results of the investigations of the texts which fill the later pages of this part. The author gives special attention, as the sub-title implies, to the cult of the Babylonians, although the published texts are few and the difficulties of interpretation great. He anticipates the possibility of finding some surprises, some historical connections between the cult of the Babylonians and that of the Israelites, especially as touching the "priest codex."

A classification of the priests and their functions, as revealed in these texts, gives us three classes: (1) the *bār ū*-priests, or soothsayers, (2) the *āšipu*-priests, or conjurers, and (3) the *zammāru*-priests, or singers. Traces of the first class can be found as far back as during the third millennium B. C. in the documents of Hammurabi (ca. 2200 B. C.). The existence and the functions of this class of religious officials are seen in many of the texts reaching down to the last century of the new Babylonian empire. Their relations to their divinities and to the sacrifices, and their part in uttering oracles have some parallels in the Old Testament.

Likewise the *āšipu*-priests, the conjurers, played an important rôle in the life of the Babylonian people. For the king, the sick, and the troubled he was an essential personage. He was a member of a class, and his office was inherited by his sons down through the ages.

¹ BEITRÄGE ZUR KENNTNISS DER BABYLONISCHEN RELIGION. Von Dr. Heinrich Zimmern, a. o. Professor der semitischen Sprachen in Breslau. Zweite Lieferung, erste Hälfte. [Assyriologische Bibliothek, Band XII.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899. 48 Ss. und 19 Tafeln in Autographie. M. 15.

Less is known of the *zammāru*-priests, the singers. But they evidently occupied a part of some importance in the full conduct of the Babylonian religious ritual.

The texts investigated are found beautifully autographed on nineteen lithographed plates. The fragments of small or broken tablets are so pieced together as to give us one long consecutive description of the office, the character, and the function of the *bārū*-priests. The lacunæ often interfere with the discovery of the meaning of a passage, but the general sense, and duplicates in some places, help to bridge over the chasm.

These texts, so well executed, are transliterated and translated over an area of 34 pages. The notes at the bottom of the page explain the origin of the bracketed words inserted to fill out breaks, the reasons for certain readings and translations, and general philological material.

The well-established character of Zimmern's work leads us to put a good measure of confidence in his methods and conclusions.

In our examination of this part of his contribution to Babylonian religion we have noted a few minor errata. On p. 82, note 6), bottom, ŠÚ should be ŠŪ; p. 86, note 1), ZA IV should be ZA III; p. 100, l. 53, should we not read *tanaḫḫi*(-ki)? p. 100, note 23), read ŠŪ.BI. ĀŠ.A.AN; p. 104, l. 120, *abḫal*? p. 118, the number 40 should be dropped one line; p. 121, l. 10, the figure 3 should be 4.

Such valuable collections of religious material as we find here will do much to elevate the religious systems of the Babylonians to a new place among the religions of the ancient oriental world. We await with interest the completion of this notable work.

IRA M. PRICE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THOMPSON'S REPORTS OF THE MAGICIANS AND ASTROLOGERS OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON.¹

These two volumes constitute Vols. VI and VII of Luzac's "Semitic Text and Translation Series," to which E. A. Wallis Budge, the supervising editor of the series, has contributed thus far five volumes of Syriac texts and translations, and Mr. L. W. King three volumes of "The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi," a publication received most favorably by Assyriologists. Thompson's work is thus in very good company, and the publishers are to be congratulated upon securing such scholarly editors and translators, as well as upon bringing out their contributions in such a pleasing dress and handy form. Typographical and press-work, as well as binding, are done well, and the paper is good and heavy.

¹ THE REPORTS OF THE MAGICIANS AND ASTROLOGERS OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON in the British Museum. The original texts, printed in cuneiform characters, edited with translations, notes, vocabulary, index, and an introduction. By R. Campbell Thompson, B.A. (Cantab.), Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. 2 vols. London: Luzac and Co., 1900. Bound, 25s.—Vol. I, "The Cuneiform Texts." xx pp. (of which pp. ix-xvii are a descriptive list of the astrological reports printed in this volume) + 85 plates.—Vol. II, "English Translations, Vocabulary," etc. xcii + 147 pp.: f. c., Preface, pp. vii-ix; Contents, p. xi; Introduction, pp. xiii-xxix; Translations, pp. xxxiii-xci; Transliterations, pp. 1-111; Vocabulary, pp. 113-32; Index, pp. 133-44; Lists, pp. 145-7.

indistinct" (said of stars, *e. g.*, 232, 9, *ma-'-diš um-mul*; *ibid.* 6, *um-mu-liš* "dimly," also 243 *r.* 4, *a-mu-liš*.—236E, 3 (. . . *ta-lu-ki-šu*) *un-di-iṭ-ṭu*, treated by Thompson as a noun. It is said there of the planet Mars that *ta-lu-ki-šu un-di-iṭ-ṭu*. I prefer to consider *undiṭṭu* as an *Ifta'al* of *maṭū*, to which *ta-lu-ki(-šu)* is the subject.—*enētu* "become dim," etc. (?); *Ifte'al ittintu*, which means "the gradual disappearance of the moon as it draws near the sun at the end of the month."—*ur-ri-tum* "point of light" (268, 3; *cf.* p. lxxxv).—(*amēl*) *a-ra-su-u* (236F *r.* 5).—*iš-šik-ki¹² ri-ḳu-te* (207 *r.* 3).—*miširtu* "justice" (121, 4).—*atū Ishtafal (šutatū, uštata)* "be invisible," a meaning discussed on pp. xxvi sq.—*un-nu-ut a-tin-nu ul i-šak-kam-ma* (181 *r.* 3; p. lxiv: "perhaps we may compare the Heb. *ethān*").—*ba'ālu (iba'il, ib-il; ba'il, etc.)* "grow bright."—*batū* "cut in pieces" (257 *r.* 4, *di-e-i-qi i-ba-at-ti*; see p. lxxxi).—*gubru* (223 *r.* 2) "man."—*da'aḥu*; *dimqu*, etc.—158 *r.* 4 has the interesting form *ul-taḥ-ṭu-ni, ṽḥaṭū*; 94 *r.* 3 (108, 3) *enāti¹³ uš-ṭaḥ-ḥa-a, ṽṭeḥū*, "approach," written *uš-ṭa-ḥa-a* (143, 8).—¹¹ EN-LIL *ka-mar māti* (267, 7).—*mu-nik-si-sa* (var. *mu-ni-ik-si-sa*) "divided," *Nif'al* partic. of *kasasu*.—*uk-tap-pad* (277AE, 7), *ṽkapadu*.—[*mu*] ŠU-GI *kur-kur-ru-šu i-nam-bu-uṭ* (244 [not 3] A, 1) "when the circle of the pleiades is bright" (p. lxxvii compares Heb. *kārār*, "revolve").—*ku-ru-sis-su tibū-ma* (2 [not 9] 8, 4) "the K will come and eat up the sesame;" p. xxxvii says: "perhaps a worm or insect."—*katatu* "grow dim," 208, 3 *uš-tak-ti-it-ma* (and 208A, 3), while parallel text 204 *r.* 1 has *uš-tak-ti-ma*; this latter had better be derived from *katamu*.—*it-tam-me-ḥi-ir*, 180, 6, *Ittafal* of *maḥaru*, which in the vocabulary is also suggested for the reading: *ultu me-ḥir* of 57 *r.* 4; but I do not quite see how *is-sa-na-aḥ-ḥar* (88, 4; 103 *r.* 11 *is-sa-na-ḥar*) can be an *Ittanaf'al* of *maḥaru*, notwithstanding the gloss *ma-ḥi-ru* added to the form in No. 88.—*mātu A-ŠI-ŠI-ša* (191, 2) has the gloss *me-li-ša*; why not compare Hebr. מַלְיָה?—*ma-sa-ar-ti biṭ ḳatā¹²* (240, 9) "an attack on the treasury."—*marū* "spoil," *umarri* (201A, 3).—*im-da-na-ra-aṣ* (257 *r.* 7) *Iftane'al* of *maraṣu* "be sick."—277 *r.* 2 has the rare form (*i-na ṭābti*) *an-di-di-il-šu* (of *ṽna'alu*) "I preserved it in brine."

These are only a few instances of the many new words and interesting verbal forms found in this welcome and timely work of Mr. Thompson's.¹³

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

¹² The author, p. lxx, says: "Rev. 3 *iššikku*: see Muss-Arnolt, *Dict., sub voce*;" but the *iššikku* quoted there seems to be entirely distinct in meaning from the *iššikku* used here.

¹³ For *zalpu* (181, 1) read better *ṣalpu*; *zirtu* (p. 120), pl. *zi-ra-a-ti* (190, 2; 190A, 2), should rather be *zirūtu*; see my *Concise Dictionary*, p. 294, col. 1. I do not quite see why *ṭimu* (270, 7, *kima ṭe-im šamē*) should be separated from *ṭemu* "command," etc. 195A, 3, [*mad*]-*da-giš* (p. 123, col. 2) should be read [*šad*]-*da-giš*, as Robert F. Harper has shown in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, p. 13 (October, 1897); *it-tan-ta-ḥa*, 84, 6, etc., is a IV, 2 (*Ittafal*), rather than a IV, 3 (*Ittanaf'al*) form of *mataḥu*. But these few items do not detract in any way from the great value of this splendid publication.

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THE BOOK OF THEKLA.

BY EDGAR J. GOODSPEED,
The University of Chicago.

The peculiar interest attaching to the history of the text of the Acts of Thekla in its various forms, Greek,¹ Latin,² Syriac,³ Armenian,⁴ and Coptic,⁵ together with the problems, not yet fully solved, which that history raises, justifies the publication of another and quite unusual form of this early Christian romance. The Ethiopic "Book of Thekla" is preserved in two British Museum codices, dating respectively from the fifteenth ("A") and from the eighteenth ("B") centuries.

Brit. Mus. Orient. 689 is a ponderous fifteenth-century synaxarium of 237 heavy parchment leaves. It is well written in double columns, with forty-five to forty-seven lines to a column. The leaves measure *cm.* 31.9 by 46.2. They are carefully lined

¹ Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I, 235-72.

² There are two Latin translations—one published in *Bibliotheca Cassinensis*, III *Florilegium*, 271 *sqq.*; the other in Mombritius, *Sanctuarium II*, 303 *sqq.*

³ The Syriac, considered most important of the versions, at least until the Coptic, has been published by W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (1871), I, pp. ۱۱۱ *sqq.*; II, pp. 116 *sqq.*, on the basis of four British Museum manuscripts.

⁴ Translated by F. C. Conybeare, *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and Other Monuments of Early Christianity* (1894), pp. 49-88, from select Armenian martyrdoms, published by the Mechitarists of San Lazaro, 1874.

⁵ Parts of the Coptic version of the Acts of Paul, including the Acts of Thekla, are soon to be published, from a Heidelberg papyrus, by Dr. Karl Schmidt, of Berlin. Arabic (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III, 1, 286—Harnack's reference to 288 is an error) and Slavonic versions also are known to exist, the latter in several codices; *cf.* Bonwetsch, in Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, I, pp. 904-5.

on the flesh side, and are set with flesh sides facing flesh sides. The outer and lower margins are wide. There are numerous erasures and some other corrections. The ornaments are few and generally simple, and there are no pictures. The quires are not at all uniform, but in most cases consist of the usual four double leaves, or their equivalent. The Book of Thekla stands fifth among the volume's sermons and martyrdoms, and occupies *fol.* 31a to 34a.

Brit. Mus. Orient. 687-688 is an eighteenth-century folio of 233 parchment leaves. The leaves, which measure *cm.* 31 by 35.3, are gathered in quires of four—rarely of three—with flesh sides facing flesh sides. They are carefully lined on the flesh side. The writing is fine and regular, and is arranged in three columns, of from thirty-one to thirty-three lines. There are more than fifty pictures, great and small, representing the martyrdoms described, for the volume is a synaxarium of lives of saints. The names Jesus, Christ, Paul, Thekla, and Walda Giyörgis, who seems to have been the owner of the book, are usually in red. The Book of Thekla occupies *fol.* 49a to 51b. Both manuscripts were presented to the British Museum in August, 1868, by the Secretary of State for India.

The question of the relationship of the two manuscripts at once suggests itself, but their connection does not seem to be very close. A certain amount of modification from the archaism of a fifteenth-century exemplar is indeed to be expected in an eighteenth-century copy, and it is not surprising that B's readings are very often improvements upon A's. But the divergences of B are by no means all improvements or modernizations. Once at least B unwittingly allows us a glimpse of precisely what the parent manuscript read, and that manuscript was evidently not A. In the account of Thekla's second attempted martyrdom the immediate ancestor of B seems to have had a different order of words from that of A. After the words "lions and bears" (AB), the sentence "and they seized her and cast her into the den of bears and lions" (A) has fallen out of the text, doubtless by an error of the eye, *homoioteleuton*, and must thus have ended with the same word as the preceding sentence, *i. e.*, with the order "lions and bears." The parent manuscript thus cannot have been A, which has the order "bears and lions." The alternative explanation that one or two complete lines of A were

simply skipped is inadmissible, as the sentence in A begins and ends in the middle of the line. A few lines farther down the first hand of B has been guilty of a similar error, but this time of repetition. There, however, the corrector has set him right. But the distinguishing of A from the parent of B rests on broader grounds than this isolated, though instructive, instance. How frequently the two manuscripts differ a glance at the lower margins of the following pages will show.

In a comparison of A and B the statistics of preferred readings rather favor the younger manuscript. Its text commends itself in over 25 per cent. more cases than does that of A. In the matter of fulness, on the other hand, the older manuscript excels in over 60 per cent. more readings than B, but B's omissions are often in the interests of clearness, if not absolutely required by the sense. In a large number of cases neither manuscript can be given the preference, both being right or both equally wrong. B has the smoother, easier text. A is occasionally found using a nominative for an accusative, or a singular pronoun for a plural, while B is in general better in the matter of forms. As to roots, A rarely has a different root from B for the same meaning, but in general differences in roots are confined to the common confusions α with ω , γ with δ , θ with κ , ϕ with η , λ with θ , etc., A usually preserving the better reading. B shows a decided preference for α -long instead of short, especially in the case of γ , for which guttural it evinces considerable fondness.

The evidence supplied by a comparison of the tables of contents is not in itself decisive. To the thirty-five titles of the older manuscript the younger adds eleven. Five of these—Nos. 3, 16, 31, 35, 36—are scattered through the manuscript. The remaining six appear at the end. The place of each seems to have been determined by the ecclesiastical calendar, in accordance with which the contents of both manuscripts are arranged. But numbers 25-28 of A, in which the calendar order is not observed, are correctly rearranged in B.

It seems reasonable to conclude that, while B is a *corrected* and amplified manuscript of the synaxarium, it is *not* the immediate descendant of A, and probably not a direct descendant of A at all, but comes through a collateral line from some ancestor of A.

The numerous modifications that the monument has undergone in passing into the Ethiopic form suggest the propriety of prefacing the text with an epitome.

Paul comes to Macedonia, and, taking up his abode with Tāmerēnōs, preaches the new righteousness and the doctrine of virginity. Thekla, the betrothed of Tāmerēnōs, from her window hears his discourse and believes. The importunities of Tāmerēnōs and her mother only strengthen her new convictions. She escapes by night to the house of Paul and sits at his feet. For a week these visits continue. At the end of this time her mother discovers her and tells Thekla's lover, Tāmerēnōs, who must thus be another than the entertainer of Paul. Unable to move Thekla, Tāmerēnōs denounces Paul to the governor, who seizes him and orders him to be burned. Paul escapes death—how, is not quite clear—and is cast out of the city. Thekla's mother now renews her importunities, pointing to Paul's supposed fate as discrediting his teaching. When Thekla remains steadfast, her mother denounces her to the governor, as disobedient in refusing to marry. Repeating her refusal before the governor, she is sentenced to be burned. The maidens of the city bring fagots, and the fire is kindled. Thekla makes the sign of the cross, rain extinguishes the fire, and thunder deafens her judge. Upon her release her mother disowns her. Thekla meets a woman who owes her 1,000 pieces of money, and forgives her the debt, accepting only a few dinars. Meeting Paul's attendant on his way into the city to sell Paul's garment and buy bread for Paul and his followers, Thekla buys the garment with a part of her money and takes it back to Paul. She relates her experiences to him, and asks him to cut off her hair and disguise her as a man, which he reluctantly does. They then proceed to Thessalonica together. Thekla's mother learns of this, and at her instigation another magistrate has Thekla brought back, and condemns her to the lions for disobedience and refusing to marry. At the sign of the cross, however, the lions become harmless and play about her feet, while she breaks forth into a hymn of praise. Meantime the magistrate is mysteriously troubled all night and sends men, apparently the next morning, to bury Thekla's bones. They report that she is alive. The magistrate himself comes and releases her, and entreats her to pray for the recovery of his superior and himself. She requires him to bring Paul to do

it. Paul is brought, and prays for them, and they are healed and believe.

The recent discovery of the Acts of Paul in a Coptic version, among the Heidelberg papyri, has shown that the Acts of Paul and Thekla were originally part of that work. Like all the known versions until the Coptic, the Ethiopic form of the Thekla story shows little trace, after its first sentence, of its origin as part of a larger body of Acts. It stands somewhat apart from the Syriac, Armenian, and Latin, however, in being, not a mere version, but a very free reworking of the story, with numerous omissions, transpositions, and interpolations. So frequent are the writer's divergences from the earlier type of the monument that the question arises whether the Greek (or its equivalent in some intermediate version, *e. g.*, the Syriac or Arabic) was actually in his hands, or had only been seen or heard by him and was written up from memory.

To undertake the creation of a text with so meager an apparatus as two manuscripts has not been deemed advisable. The text presented is therefore that of the older manuscript A, while the variants of B are collected in the footnotes. The only deviation from rigid fidelity to the text of A is in the spelling of the name of Paul, the usual **ጳውሎስ**: being substituted for A's occasional **ጳውሎስ**: A more serious inconsistency in A is its spelling of Thamyris now **ጥምራኖስ**: and now **ጥምራንስ**: which latter appears uniformly in B. But A's **ጥምራኖስ**: is perhaps not quite a meaningless variation. In the first three occurrences of the name in the Book of Thekla it stands where a Greek original would have had a genitive, **Θαμύριδος**. The last vowel of **ጥምራኖስ**: may be a reflection of this. The remaining five occurrences of the name stand where accusatives and nominatives would have stood in a Greek original, again supposing our Ethiopic text to have had one; and for four of these A uses **ጥምራንስ**: The persistence with which *n* appears in the forms of this name suggests the possibility that the writer is struggling with a stem, not in *δ*, but in *ν*, like **Σαλαμὶς Σαλαμῖνος**; but of this the Greek manuscripts of the Acts of Thekla show no trace. An alternative explanation is to suppose that our writer worked under the influence of the Syriac version, and misread **ܬܡܪܢܐ** as **ܬܡܪܢܐ**—not an unnatural mistake. But Professor Nöldeke, who has very kindly looked over the whole text for me, tells me that

he finds many points reflecting the influence of an Arabic version lying back of the Ethiopic.¹ It seems to me probable that this intermediate version was nearer the Greek than the Ethiopic form. But the Arabic form does not seem to have been published, and so it has not been possible to follow up the suggestion of Professor Nöldeke. Assemani (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III, p. 286) simply mentions a [*Vita*] *Theclae virginis et martyris* as present in an Arabic manuscript of lives and martyrdoms of saints in the library of the Vatican.

In the lower margins such of the readings of B as seem preferable to those of A have been indicated (*q. l.*, *recte*), and in some cases, where neither manuscript gives a satisfactory reading, one is recommended (*l.*), but A's occasional obvious confusions of nominative and accusative have not always been corrected in the notes. The numerous and remarkable shortcomings of the older text have thus been supplemented and an intelligible text secured throughout. At the same time, as Professor Nöldeke reminds me, we must not lose sight of the fact that the harsh and unconventional reading may in many cases be the true and original one.

For permission to publish the text and for helpful suggestions on the form of publication I am indebted to Mr. Margoliouth and Mr. Budge, of the British Museum. Professor Nöldeke, of Strassburg, and Professor Charles, of Oxford and Dublin, have most kindly helped me on many doubtful points in the text and the translation; but they are not to be held responsible for either text or translation as a whole.

¹ A case almost analogous is that of the Ethiopic form of the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions, which was based upon the Arabic version. There, however, a Coptic form of the Constitutions seems to have been intermediate between the parent Arabic version and the Ethiopic, which, as in the case of Thekla, was a free reworking. Cf. Harnack *op. cit.*, I, p. 517.

መጽሐፈ : ጤቀላ :

መጽሐፈ : ጤቀላ : አመ : ይሰብክ : ጳውሎስ : ውስተ : ነተሉ : አህ
 ጉር : ወበጽሐ : መቄዶንያ : ወጎደረ¹ : ግጎደር : ለታምሬናስ² : ወይቤ :
 እንዘ : ይሚሀር³ : ወይጌሥጸሙ⁴ : መጻእነ : ንስብክ : መንግሥተ : ሰማ
 ያት : በቃለ : እግዚአብሔር : ብፁዓን : አለ : የአምኑ : በልቦሙ : በወ
 ልደ : እግዚአብሔር : እስመ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : ብሂል : መድኅኒ⁵ :
 ዓለም : ዘአስተርአየ : በሥጋ : ሰብእ : እንዘ : እግዚአብሔር : ውእቱ :
 ኮነ : ሰብእ⁷ : ከመ : ያደኅን : ሰብእ : ወከመ : ምውታን : ያሕዩ : ሞተ⁸ :
 ወአመ : ሣልስተ⁹ : ዕለት : ተንሥአ : ወከመ¹⁰ : ሕመማን¹¹ : ያጥሂ : ሐ
 መ : ብዙኅ¹² : በእንተ : ሰብእ : እንዘ : እግዚአብሔር : ውእቱ : ኮነ :
 ሰብእ : ወአርአየ¹³ : ትዕግሥተ : ከመ : ይትዐገሡ¹⁴ : አለ : የአመኑ¹⁵ :
 በስመ : ዚአሁ : ወይረሱ : መንግሥተ : ሰማያት : ወይቱሙ : ምስሌሁ :
 ወምስለ : አቡሁ : ለዘ : ውእቱ¹⁶ : ምክሩ : ወጥበቡ¹⁷ : ወጎደሉ¹⁸ : ለእ
 ግዚአብሔር : ብፁዓን : አለ : ያነድዩ : ነፍሱሙ : እስመ : ሉሙ : መ
 ንግሥተ : ሰማያት : ብፁዓን : ጸድቃን¹⁹ : እስመ : ይወርሱ : ሕይወተ :
 ብፁዓን²⁰ : አለ : ይእዜ : ይላሕዉ²¹ : በእንተ : ኃጢአቱሙ²² : ከያሆ
 ሙ : ይምዕዱ : ጸድቃን²³ : ብፁዓን : አለ : ይእዜ : ይርገቡ : ወይጸም
 ኡ²⁴ : እስመ : እሙንቱ : ይጸግቡ : በነተሉ²⁵ : ጸሎቶሙ : እንተ : ጊዜ :
 ጸለዩ : ኅበ : እግዚአብሔር : አመ : ምንጻቤሆሙ : ብፁዓን : ገባርያን :

¹ corr.; prim. man. ሰብእ : ² corr.; prim. man. ሕማማነ :
 • MS. A fol. 31 verso. ³ corr. • corr.; prim. man. ይከያሙ :
 1 ወጎደረ : 2 ለታምሬናስ : 3 ይሚሀር : q. ሊ 4 ወይ
 ጌሥጽ : 5 መድኅኒ : 6 እግዚእ : 7 ሰብእ : q. ሊ 8 እ
 ሞተ : 9 ሊ ግልስተ : 10 ከመ : 11 ብዙኃ : 12 corr.
 13 ይትዐገሡ : 14 ተሕመኑ : q. ሊ 15 ለዘውእቱ : 16 ኩ. ጥ
 በቡ : ወምክሩ : 17 ወጎደሉ : 18 ሊ ጸድቃን : 19 ብዙን :
 20 ይላሕዉ : 21 ሊ ንጢአቱሙ : 22 ወይፀምዑ : 23 ንቱ :
 ይጸግቡ : በነተሉ : corr.

ምጽዋት፡ እስመ፡ ሎሙ፡ ሣህል፡ በኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፥ ብፁዓን፡
ንጹሐነ¹፡ ልብ²፡ እሙንቱ፡ ይሬእዎ³፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ብፁዓን፡
እለ፡ ያስተሳልሙ፡ ወያስተኳንኑ፡ እስመ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ውሉደ፡ እግዚ
አብሔር፡ ይሰመዩ⁴፡ ብፁዓን፡ እለ፡ ይሰደዱ፡ በእንተ፡ ጽድቅ፡ እስ
መ፡ ሎሙ፡ ይእቲ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት ፥ ብፁዓን፡ አንትሙ፡ ሶበ፡
ሰብእ፡ ይጸልክሙ⁵፡ በእንተ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ተፈሥሑ፡ ወተኃሠዩ⁶፡ ይእ
ተ፡ ጊዜ ፥ ብፁዕ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘይተሉ፡ ትእዛዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወየኅ
ድግ⁷፡ ፈቃዶ፡ ለዝ፡ ዓለም ፥ ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ ለእመ፡ ኅደግ⁸፡ ዙሉ፡
ጥሪተከ፡ ወተለውከ፡ ትእዛዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፥ ብፁዕት፡ ብእሲት፡ እ
ንተ፡ ኢታወስብ⁹፡ ወተኅድጎ¹⁰፡ ለዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ወድንግልኒ፡ እንተ፡
ኢታወስብ፡ ወትነብር፡ በከ¹¹፡ እንዘ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ትብል፡ እስ
መ፡ ዘአውሰበ፡ መክፈልተ¹²፡ ገሃነም ፥ ወለእመሂ፡ በኢያአምሮ፡ አ
ውሰበት፡ ብእሲትኒ¹³፡ ትቁም፡ በምታ፡ ወብእሲኒ፡ በብእሲቱ^b ፥ ወእ
መሰ^o፡ ካልአ፡ ሖረ¹⁴፡ መክፈልተ^o፡ ገሃነም ፥ ውእቱ ፥ ወእመሰ፡ ተግ
ሣጸ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ተለውከ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ ትወርስ ፥ ወአ
እምርዎ፡ ብዕሉ¹⁵፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ ከመ¹⁶፡ ካንቱ^{d17}፡ ውእቱ ፥ ወሕ
ይወቱኒ፡ ካንቱ^{d17}፡ ወወርቁኒ¹⁸፡ ወብሩሩኒ፡ ካንቱ^{d17}፡ ወዘያፈቅሮሂ¹⁹፡
ወዘይትአመኖሂ²⁰፡ ወዙሉ²¹፡ ወእምዙሉ፡ የአኪ²²፡ ትዕቢት፡ እስመ፡
ላዕቡያን²³፡ ይትሂየዮ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፥ ኢትኩኑ፡ ከመ፡ ዙሉ፡ አሕ
ዛብ²⁴፡ እለ፡ ይቀርቡ፡ ኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በአፋሆሙ፡ ወበልበሙ
ሰ²⁵፡ ርሑቅ²⁶፡ ሀሉ፡ እምኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምቅድሚሆሙ፡ ለጸ
ላእትከሙኒ²⁷፡ ኢትጸልእዎሙ²⁸፡ ወለእለ፡ ያፈቅሩከሙ፡ ኢታፍቅር

^a corr.^b corr.; *prim. man.* በብእሲትጸ፡?^c corr.^d corr.; *prim. man.* ከንቱ፡ ^e corr.; *prim. man.* ለዕቡያን፡¹ ሌ ንጹሐነ፡² እስመ፡ *add.*; *q. l.*, c. Mt. 5:8.³ ይሬእደዎ፡ *q. l.*, c. Mt. 5:8.⁴ *tr.* ይሰመዩ፡ ውሉደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡⁵ ይ

ጸልዓክሙ፡

⁶ ወተሐሣዩ፡ *q. l.*, c. Mt. 5:12.⁷ ወየኅድግ፡ ሌ

ንደግከ፡

⁸ ኃደግ፡⁹ ኢውስብት፡¹⁰ ወተኃደግ፡¹¹ በከ፡ *corr.*; c. 1 Cor. 7:11.¹² መክፈተ፡¹³ ብእሲት፡ *q. l.*¹⁴ *tr.* ሖረ፡ ካልአ፡ ሌ ካልእተ፡¹⁵ ብእሉ፡¹⁶ ከመ፡ *om.*¹⁷ ከንቱ፡ *q. l.*¹⁸ ወርቁኒ፡¹⁹ ወዘያፈቅር፡²⁰ ወዘተአመ

ኖሂ ፥

²¹ ወዙሉ፡ *om. recte.*²² የአኪ፡²³ ለዕቡያን፡²⁴ ሰብእ፡²⁵ ወልበሙሰ፡ *q. l.*²⁶ ርሑቅ፡²⁷ ወ

ላጸላእትከሙኒ፡

²⁸ ኢትጸልዕዎሙ፡ ሌ ኢትጸልእዎሙ፡

ምሙ ፥ ወለእመሰ፡ ዘአፍቀረከሙ፡ አፍቀርከሙ፡ አልብከሙ፡ ዘአፈ
 ድፈድከሙ¹፡ እምባዕዳን፡ አሕዘብ² ፥ ወእመኒ³፡ ርኅብ፡ ጸላኢከሙ⁴፡
 አብልዕዎ፡ ወለእመኒ፡ ጸምአ⁵፡ አስትይዎ፡ ወለእመኒ⁶፡ ዓረቀ⁷፡ አል
 ብስዎ ፥ ወለእመኒ፡ ለከ⁸፡ አኃቲ⁹፡ ልብሰከ¹⁰፡ ግምድ¹¹፡ ሎቱ፡ ወአል
 ብሰ¹² ፥ ወዘንተ፡ ለእመ፡ ገበርከ፡ አፍሐሙ¹³፡ እሳት፡ ተስታጋብእ¹⁴፡
 ወትሰውጥ¹⁵፡ ዲበ፡ ርእሱ፡ ወንዋዩ፡ ቢጽከ፡ ርእሪከ¹⁶፡ ኢትሱጥ፡ ዲ
 በ፡ ርእስከ¹⁷፡ ወኢትፍቱ¹⁸፡ ወኢትበል፡ ለእመ፡ ሐዩውኩ፡ እረከብ፡
 ዘንተ፡ ዮሎ¹⁹፡ እስመ፡ ኢታአምር²⁰፡ አንተ፡ ጎበ፡ ተጼሊ፡ ከመ፡ አ
 ንተ²¹፡ ሶቦ²²፡ ቤት፡ መሎእ²³፡ ወርቅ፡ ወብሩር²⁴ ። ወይመጽእ፡ ሰራቂ፡
 ወይሰርቆ፡ ወዩጎድጎ፡ ዕራቆ²⁵ ፥ ከማሁኬ፡ አንትመኒ፡ ሰብእ፡ ኢታ
 አምሩ²⁶፡ ጊዜ፡ እንተ፡ ትመጽእ²⁷፡ ዮነኔ፡ እምጎበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
 ወይነሥእዋ፡ ለነፍስከሙ²⁸፡ ወትከውኑ፡ ዕራቅከሙ²⁹፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ስን
 ቅ³⁰፡ በቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፥ ወክብርከሙ³¹፡ ይትሐጉል³²፡ ወነ
 ፍስከሙ³³፡ በገንነም ። ወይእዜኒ፡ ሐልዮ³⁴፡ ወለብው³⁵፡ ለርእሰከሙ³⁶፡
 እስለከሙ³⁷፡ ወአስተበቀላዎከሙ³⁸፡ በስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እግዚእ
 ነ³⁹፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ከመ፡ ዘወሀብናከሙ⁴⁰፡ ተግሣጸ፡ ትዕቀቡ ፥
 ወትትመሐጸኑ⁴¹፡ ገዜ፡ ውእቱ፡ ፈቃዱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ከመ፡ ት
 ግበሩ፡ ዘሰማዕከሙ፡ ወዘርኢከሙ፡ ወዘጠየቅሙ⁴²፡ ከመ፡ ኢክነ⁴³፡
 ትእዘዙ⁴⁴፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፥ ሐሰቱ ፥ ወሕዝብሰ፡ እለ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ሕ
 ጎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ኮኑ፡ ነኪራ⁴⁵ ፥ ወይእዜኒ፡ አኃዊየ⁴⁶፡ ተፋቀሩ፡

^a corr. ^b prim. man. ርእሱከ፡ MS. A fol. 32 recto.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ¹ ፈድፋድ፡ | ² አሕዛብ፡ q. l. | ³ እመኒ፡ | ⁴ ጸላኢከሙ፡ |
| ⁵ ጸምጻ፡ | ⁶ ርኅብ፡ add. | ⁷ ወዓረቀ፡ | ⁸ ብከ፡ |
| ⁹ አሕ
ቲ፡ q. l. | ¹⁰ ልብሰከ፡? q. l. | ¹¹ ግምድ፡ q. l. | ¹² ወአልብሰ፡ |
| ¹³ ሌ አፍሐሙ፡ | ¹⁴ ታስተጋብእ፡ q. l. | ¹⁵ ሌ ርእከ፡ | |
| ¹⁶ ወኢትፍቱ፡ om. | ¹⁷ ዮሎ፡ q. l. | ¹⁸ ኢተአምር፡ | ¹⁹ እን |
| ²⁰ ምሎ፡ ሌ ምሎእ፡ | ²¹ ወብሩ፡ ር፡ | ²² ወዩጎ
ድጎ፡ ዕራቆ፡ om. | |
| ²³ ኢተአምሩ፡ corr. | ²⁴ ጊዜ፡ እንተ፡ ትመጽ
እ፡ corr. | ²⁵ ሰፍስከሙ፡ | ²⁶ ዕራቅከሙ፡ |
| ²⁷ ሌ ሥንቅ፡ | ²⁸ ወክብርከሙ፡ | ²⁹ ሌ ይትሀጉል፡ | ³⁰ ሌ ንልዮ፡ |
| ³¹ ወለ
ብዉ፡ q. l. | ³² ሰርእስከሙ፡ q. l. | ³³ እስእስከሙ፡ q. l. | ³⁴ ወ
አስተበቀላኝከሙ፡ |
| ³⁵ እግዚእየ፡ | ³⁶ ዘ፡ ወሀብናከሙ፡ q. l. | ³⁷ ወትትመኃፀኑ፡ ሌ ወትትመሐፀኑ፡ | ³⁸ ወጠየቅሙ፡ |
| ³⁹ ኢክነት፡ | ⁴⁰ ትእዘዙ፡ q. l. | ⁴¹ ክኪራ፡ ሌ ክኪራን፡ | ⁴² አኃውየ ፥ add. ፍ
ቅራን፡ |

በበይናቲክሙ፡ ለምንት¹፡ እጽሕፍ፡ ለክሙ፡ በእንተ፡ ተፋቅሮ²፡
 ስሙዓን፡ አንትሙ፡ ወምሁራን፡ በግበ፡ እግዚአብሔር³፡ በወንጌል፡
 ቅዱስ ፥ ወሰማዕክሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ እግዚእን፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡
 ዘመጠወ፡ ነፍሶ፡ በእንቲአን⁴፡ ወበእንተ፡ እለ፡ የአምኑ፡ ወበእንተ⁵፡
 ክዕወተ፡ ደሙ፡ ዘክዐወ⁶፡ ደሞ⁷፡ በእንቲአን፡ ከሙ፡ ንሕነኒ⁸፡ ንትባላ
 ሕ፡ እምግጣውኢ⁹፡ እለ፡ ነአምን¹⁰፡ ቦቱ ፥ ወይቤለን¹¹፡ በቃለ፡ ወን
 ጌል፡ አንትሙስ¹²፡ ሰብአ¹³፡ ተፋቅሩ፡ በበይናቲክሙ¹⁴፡ እስመ፡ ከማ
 ሁ፡ አፍቀረን¹⁵፡ እግዚአብሔር ፥ ወይቤ፡ እመታፈቅርዎ¹⁶፡ ለእግዚአ
 ብሔር፡ ተፋቅሩ፡ በበይናቲክሙ ፥ ለእግዚአብሔርስ¹⁷፡ አልቦ፡ ዘርእ
 ዮ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ወልደ፡ እንለ¹⁸፡ እመሕያው፡ ዘእምህየ፡ ወረደ ፥ ወእ
 መሰ፡ ታፈቅርዎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ተፋቅሩ¹⁹፡ በበይናቲክሙ²⁰፡ ወአ
 ፍቅሩ፡ ቢጸክሙ²¹፡ ከሙ፡ ነፍስክሙ፡ ወዘኢትፈቅዱ፡ ይግበሩ፡ ለክ
 ሙ፡ ሰብእ፡ አንትሙኒ²²፡ ኢትግበሩ፡ ለባዕድ ፥ ወይቤ²³፡ እግዚእን፡
 ወመድኅኒ²⁴፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዙሎ ፥ ትእዘዝ²⁵ ፥ ወይእ
 ዜኒ፡ ኢታውስቡ²⁶፡ ዘረከብክሙ፡ ዙሎ፡ ወኢትፍቅዱ፡ ብእሲተ፡ በ
 ዕድ ፥ ወእመሰ፡ ሞተ፡ ምታ፡ ትንብር²⁷፡ በከ፡ ኢታውስብ²⁸ ፥ ወእ
 መሰ፡ ኢትክል፡ ተዐግሶ²⁹፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ብእሲ፡ ታውስብ፡ አሐደ³⁰፡
 እስመ፡ ይኄይስ፡ አው፡ ስቦ³¹፡ እምዘምዎ ፥ ወእፍ፡ ትዜምዎ³²፡ እን
 ዘ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አንትሙ፡ ወሥጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሥ
 ጋክሙ ፥ ወይእዜኒ፡ ኢትረስዩ፡ ሥጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሥጋ፡ ዘማ ፥

^a cf. Isa. 53 : 13, John 6 : 45. ^b corr.; prim. man. በእንቲ
 አበ፡? ^c corr.; prim. man. ቢጸክሙ፡ ^d corr.; prim. man.
 ኢትውስብ፡ ^e corr.; prim. man. ተዐግሶ፡
¹ ለምንት፡ ² በእንተፋቅሮ፡ q. l. ³ በቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
 add. ⁴ ወበእንተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ add. post በእንቲአን፡ ⁵ በ pro
 ወበእንተ፡ q. l. ⁶ ዘክዐወ፡ l. ዘክዐወ፡ ⁷ ደም፡ om. ⁸ ን
 ሕነ፡ ⁹ እምግጣውኢ፡ ¹⁰ አምነ፡ ¹¹ ወይቤለ፡ ¹² አ
 ንትሙስ፡ corr.; prim. man. አንትሙ፡? ¹³ ሰብአ፡ q. l. ¹⁴ በበ
 ይናቲክሙ፡ ¹⁵ corr.; prim. man. አፍቀረ፡ ¹⁶ እመ፡ ታፈቅር
 ዎ፡ q. l. ¹⁷ ወበእግዚአብሔር፡ ¹⁸ ዕጋለ፡ ¹⁹ ተፋቅሩ፡ q. l.
²⁰ በበይናቲክሙ፡ corr. ²¹ አንትሙ፡ ሂ፡ ²² ይቤ፡ ²³ መመ
 ድኅነ፡ ²⁴ ትእዘዝ ፥ q. l. ²⁵ tr. ወኢታውስቡ፡ ይእዜኒ፡
²⁶ ትንብር፡ ²⁷ ወኢታውስብ፡ ²⁸ ተግግም፡ l. ተዐግም፡ cf.
 1 Cor. 7 : 9. ²⁹ ኄደ፡ ³⁰ አወስቦ፡ q. l. ³¹ ትዜም
 ዉ፡ q. l.

እስመ፡ እምከመ፡ ተደመረ፡ ብእሲ፡ ምስለ፡ ብእሲተ¹፡ ብእሲ²፡ አ
ሐደ³፡ ሥጋ፡ ይከውት፡ ኢትደመሩኬ፡ ምስለ፡ ዘማ፡ ወዘኣውሰበ፡
ዘማ፡ ዙነኒሁ፡ ሞተ⁴፡ በገሃንም፡ አግብኡ፡ ነፍሰክሙ⁵፡ ለኢየሱስ⁶፡
ክርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ዙሉ፡ ዘአግብኦ፡ ነፍሱ⁷፡
ቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ መንግሥተ⁸፡ ሰማያት፡ ይወርስ፡

ወዙሉ⁹፡ ዝቃለ¹⁰፡ እንዘ፡ ያሰምዕ¹¹፡ ወይሰብክ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ትሰምዕ፡
ጤቃላ¹²፡ ወፍቅርት፡ ይእቲ፡ ለታምራርስ¹³፡ ወመስኮት፡ ቤታ፡ ወዐጸ
ደ¹⁴፡ ቤታ¹⁵፡ ማገደሩ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ ይትናጸር¹⁶፡ ወይእቲስ፡ ታስተፋ
ኑ፡ ወታጸምእ¹⁷፡ ዘንተ፡ ዙሉ¹⁸፡ ዘይሔውዛ¹⁹፡ ወተዐቅብ²⁰፡ በልባ፡
ወነበረት፡ ሠለስተ፡ ወሠሉሰ²¹፡ ዕለተ፡ እንዘ፡ ኢትወርድ፡ እመስኮ
ተ²²፡ ቤተ²³፡ ወተናገረታ፡ እማ፡ ወትቤላ፡ ወለትየ፡ ኢትወርዲት፡ እ
ምዝንቱ፡ መስኮት፡ ወትበልዲ²⁴፡ እክለ፡ ወትስተይ²⁵፡ አኩት፡ ፍሕር
ቱ፡ አንቲ፡ ለታምራርስ²⁶፡ ወከመዝ²⁷፡ ትቤላ፡ ለጤቀላ፡ ከመዝ²⁸፡
ስእነት²⁹፡ ተዐግሶ³⁰፡ በልባ፡ ወወረደት፡ እመስኮት³¹፡ ወፈቀደት፡ ት
ሖር³²፡ ጎበ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ወነሥኦት፡ ጤቀላ፡ ከንበሉሃ፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ወዓ
ሰበቶ፡ ለዓጸዊ³³፡ ቤቶን³⁴፡ ወትቤሉ፡ ሀንካ³⁵፡ ዘንተ፡ ወኢትንግር፡ ከ
መ፡ ለልየ፡ እወዕለ፡ ወነሥኦ፡ ዝኩ፡ ዓጸዊ³⁶፡ ከንበሉሃ፡ ዘወርቅ³⁷፡
ወጎደጋ³⁸፡ ትሖር³⁹፡ ጎበ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ወበጺሖ⁴⁰፡ አጎዘት⁴¹፡ ታንገር

^a *corr.*; *prim. man.* ብእሲተ፡

^b *prim. man.* መንግሥተ፡

^c *corr.*; *prim. man.* ይሰምዕ፡

^d *corr.*; *prim. man.* ወትስተይ፡

^e Dillmann, *Lex.*, s. v. ክንበሉ፡ cites the substance of this passage from the Synaxaria, for the 27th of the month Maskaram, thus: ወሀበተ፡ ለዐጻዊ፡ ቤታ፡ ክንበሉ፡ ዘወርቅ፡

¹ ምስለ፡ ብእሲተ፡ *corr.*, q. l.

² ብእሲ፡ *om. recte.*

³ አደ፡

⁴ ሞተ፡ q. l.

⁵ ነፍሰክሙ፡ q. l.

⁶ ኢየሱስ፡ *om.*

⁷ ነፍሱ፡

⁸ ሥጋ፡ ይከውት፡ q. l.

⁹ ለታምራርስ፡

¹⁰ ጤቀላ፡ q. l.

¹¹ *tr.* ለታምራርስ፡ ይእቲ፡

¹² ዓጸደ፡

¹³ ቤተ፡ q. l.

¹⁴ ት

¹⁵ ትናጸር፡

¹⁶ ወታጸምእ፡

¹⁷ ዙሉ፡ q. l.

¹⁸ ዘይሔውዛ፡

¹⁹ ወተዐቅብ፡

²⁰ መስኮት፡ ወ *om. recte.*

²¹ *corr.*; *prim. man.*

²² እመስኮት፡

²³ ቤታ፡ q. l.

²⁴ ወ *om.*

²⁵ ወትስተይ፡ *add.*

²⁶ ማየ፡

²⁷ ለታምራርስ፡

²⁸ ለ ዘከመ፡

²⁹ ወከመዝ፡

³⁰ ስእነት፡

³¹ ተዐግሶ፡ q. l.

³² እመስኮት፡ *add.* ቤታ፡

³³ ት

³⁴ ሖር፡ q. l.

³⁵ ለዓጸዊ፡ ለዐጻዊ፡

³⁶ ሀንካ፡ ለ ዕንቅ፡

³⁷ ዓ

³⁸ ዓጸዊ፡ ለ ዐጻዊ፡

³⁹ ዘወርቅ፡ *om.*

⁴⁰ ወጎደጋ፡

⁴¹ ትሖር፡

⁴² *corr.*; ለ ቢሊ፡

⁴³ አጎዘት፡

ገር፡ ታሕተ፡ እገሪሁ፡ ወትላሐስ¹፡ ጸበለ²፡ እገሪሁ፡ ወመከየዱ³ ፥
 ወትቤሉ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ዘይሰምዕ፡ ተግዛጸክ፡ ወይክል⁴፡ ገቢ
 ሮቶ⁵ ፥ ወይእዜኒ፡ እግዚእየ፡ መሀረኒ⁶፡ ኩሉ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይስሓት⁷፡
 መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ እስመ፡ ብፁዕ⁸፡ ሰብእ⁹፡ ዘይገብር፡ ትእዘዝ¹⁰፡
 እግዚአብሔር፡ ወየአመን¹¹፡ ከመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
 ወይቤላ፡ ብፁዕት፡ አንቲ፡ ጤቀላ፡ እንዘ፡ ንእስቲ¹²፡ አንቲ፡ ታፈቅሪ፡
 ዘንተ፡ ወትፈቅዲ፡ እስመ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ሰብእ፡ ዘየጎሥ¹³፡ ለእግዚአብሔር
 ር፡ ወለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወዘይዘበጥ¹⁴፡ በእንቲአሁ፡ ወይስደድ¹⁵፡
 ወይጸምእ¹⁶፡ ወይርጎብ¹⁷፡ ወይዓርቅ¹⁸፡ ወይመውት፡ ዘኩሉ¹⁹፡ ይረክ
 ብ፡ በሕይወቱ፡ በዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ ወይረኢ፡ ርእሶ፡ ከመ፡ በግዕ፡ ዘመ
 ጠውዎ፡ ለጥብኃት²⁰፡ ወእትአመን²¹፡ ወአኦምን፡ በስሙ፡ ለወልደ፡
 እግዚአብሔር፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ከመ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘመጠወ፡ ርእሶ፡
 በእንተ፡ ስመ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ዘንተ፡ ኩሉ²²፡ ይመውእ²³፡ እስመ፡ አፍቀረ
 ነ፡ ወበስመ²⁴፡ ዚአሁ፡ ወንሕነኒ፡ ንግበር²⁵፡ ፈቀድ²⁶፡ እስመ፡ ጥዩቅ²⁷፡
 ከመ፡ ወኢሞት፡ ወኢሕይወት፡ ወኢኩነኔ፡ ወኢዘይእዜ፡ ወኢዘይመ
 ጽእ፡ ወኢጎይለ²⁸፡ ወኢተላዕሉ²⁹፡ ወኢመላእክት³⁰፡ ወኢክልእ³¹፡
 ፍጥረት፡ ወኢይክል³²፡ አጎድጎተነ፡ ፍቅር፡ ለክርስቶስ³³፡ እግዚእነ፡
 ወእምዝ፡ ብዙጎ³⁴፡ መዋዕለ፡ ነበረት፡ ጤቀላ፡ እንዘ፡ ትሐውር³⁵፡ ወ
 ትገብእ፡ ከማሁ፡ አእሚራ፡ ኃሠሠታ፡ እማ³⁶፡ ወጎጥአታ³⁷፡ ወእንዘ፡
 ተኃሥዛ፡ ተሥእለቶ³⁸፡ ለዓጸዊ³⁹፡ ወነገራ፡ ፈሪሆ፡ ወሐረት፡ እማ፡

^a ብ ፁዕ፡ MS. A fol. 32 verso.

^b prim. man. ሰብእ፡ ?

^c prim. man. ንስእስቲ፡

^d prim. man. ንገብር፡

^e corr.

^f cf. Rom. 8 : 38.

¹ ወትላሐስ፡ ² corr. ፀበለ፡ ³ እገሪሁ፡ ወ om. ⁴ ከ
 መ፡ pro ወ ⁵ ገቢሮታ፡ ⁶ tr. መሐረኒ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ⁷ ኢይ
 ሰሓት፡ ? ⁸ ሰብእ፡ q. l. ⁹ ትእዘዝ፡ ¹⁰ ወየአምን፡ q. l.
¹¹ ነፃስ፡ l. ንእስት፡ ¹² ዘየጎሥ፡ ¹³ ወይዘበጥ፡ ¹⁴ ወይ
 ሰደድ፡ q. l. ¹⁵ ወይጸምዕ፡ ¹⁶ ወይትመነደብ፡ add. ¹⁷ ወ
 የገርቅ፡ ¹⁸ ዘኩሉ፡ q. l. ¹⁹ ለመጥባሕት፡ q. l. ²⁰ ወ om.
²¹ ኩሉ፡ q. l. ²² ይመውዕ ፥ ²³ ወ om., recte. ²⁴ ፈቃ
 ዶ፡ q. l. ²⁵ ጥዩቅ፡ ²⁶ ወኢኃይል፡ l. ወኢጎይል፡ ²⁷ ወ
 ተላዕሉ፡ ²⁸ ወኢመላእክት፡ q. l. ²⁹ ወኢካልእ፡ q. l. ³⁰ ወ
 om. recte. ³¹ ለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ³² ብዙኃ፡ ³³ ተሐው-
 ር፡ ³⁴ tr. እማ፡ ኃሠሠታ፡ ³⁵ ወጎጥአታ፡ ³⁶ ተስእለተ፡
 q. l. ³⁷ ለዓጸዊ፡ l. ለዐጻዊ፡

ቤተ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ወረከበታ¹፡ ወአግብአታ፡ ቤታ፡ ወትቤ፡ ጸውዑ፡ ሊ
ተ፡ ታምራንስሃ፡ ወጸውዕዎ፡ ለታምራንስ፡ ወትቤሉ፡ ስማ²፡ ለዛቲ፡
ብእሲትከ³፡ ሰቡዕ፡ ዮም፡ እምዘበሐ⁴፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ዘይብልዎ፡ ብእሲ፡
ወቃለ፡ ዘሊሁ፡ ተምህረት፡ ወአኅዘት፡ ወናሁ፡ ለልዩ፡ ወለያልዩ⁵፡ ት
ወዕእ፡ ወትሐውር⁶፡ ኅቤሁ፡ ወስም⁷፡ ዘትብል፡ ወቦአ፡ ኅቤሃ፡ ታ
ምራንስ፡ ወይቤላ፡ እግዝእትዩ፡ ምንተ፡ ትብሊ፡ ዘሰማዕኩ፡ ነገረ፡ እ
ምእኪ⁸፡ ንግርኒ⁹፡ ምንትኑአ፡ ወኢትሕብእኒ¹⁰፡ ወእመሰ¹¹፡ ኢታውስ
ብኒአ¹²፡ ትብሊ፡ ወትቤሉ፡ ሖር¹³፡ ፍናትከ¹⁴፡ ሰብሰበ¹⁵፡ ዚአዩሰ፡ ባ
ዕድ፡ ወይቤላ፡ ታምራንስ፡ ኢትስምዕዮ¹⁶፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ይሒሰ
ወኪ¹⁷፡ ወተሐጉሊ¹⁸፡ ዘንተ፡ ዓለም¹⁹፡ በከንቱ²⁰፡ ነገረ²¹፡ ወመጠዝ²²፡
ወርቅ፡ ወብሩርኒ፡ ወሢራዩ²³፡ ወሚላት²⁴፡ ወታጸምታ²⁵፡ ቤትከን፡
ወትቤሉ፡ ቤቀላ፡ ወርቅከ፡ ወብሩርከ፡ ለከ፡ ይኩንከ፡ ወሲራይከ²⁶፡
ወሚላትከ²⁷፡ ለከ²⁷፡ ይኩንከ²⁷፡ ወሊተሰ²⁸፡ ወርቅዩ፡ ወብሩረዩ²⁹፡ ወ
ሲራይዩ³⁰፡ ወሚላትዩ፡ ወከብከብዩ³¹፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወከብከ
ብከመሰ³²፡ ለከመ፡ ለይኩን³³፡ ወኢትትናገኒ³⁴፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገር³⁵፡ ወተ
ምዕ፡ ታምራናስ³⁶፡ ወወዕእ³⁷፡ ወሖረ፡ ቤተ፡ መኩንን፡ ወነገር፡
ወይቤሉ፡ ዝብእሲ፡ ዘመጽአ፡ ውስተ፡ ብሒርን፡ መርዐ³⁸፡ ለነ፡ አንስ
ትያነ³⁹፡ ወብዙታት⁴⁰፡ አንስትሂ፡ ትእዘዝ⁴¹፡ ዚሊሁ፡ ሰሚዮን⁴²፡ ኅደ
ጋ⁴³፡ አምታቲሆን፡ ወዕደውኒ፡ እንከ⁴⁴፡ ኅደጉ⁴⁵፡ አንስቲያሆመ፡

¹ *prim. man.* ወተስም፡
¹ *corr.; prim. man.* ወረከታ፡ ² ስም፡ ³ ለብእሲትከ፡
om. ዛቲ፡ ⁴ እምዘበሐ፡ *q. l.* ⁵ ለልዩ፡ ወ *om. recte.* ⁶ ወ
ተሐውር፡ ⁷ ወስም፡ *q. l.* ⁸ እምኪ፡ *corr. q. l.; prim.*
man. እም. ኪ፡ ⁹ ዘነገረተኒ፡ ¹⁰ *om.; l.* ወኢትሓእኒ፡ ¹¹ ወ
እመሰ፡ *om.* ¹² ወኢታውስቤሁ፡ ¹³ ሖር፡ ¹⁴ ፍናትከ፡
q. l. ¹⁵ ሰብሰበ፡ *q. l.* ¹⁶ ኢትስምዕዮ፡ ¹⁷ ይሒሰወኪ፡ *q. l.*
¹⁸ ወተሐጉሊ፡ ¹⁹ ዓለመ፡ *q. l.* ²⁰ ለ በከንቱ፡ ²¹ ነገር፡
q. l. ²² ወመጠዝ፡ *corr., q. l.* ²³ ወርቅ፡ ወብሩረ፡ ወሲራዩ፡ *q. l.*
²⁴ ወሚላት፡ *q. l.* ²⁵ ወታጸምታ፡ *cf. ἑξάμιστος.* ²⁶ *om.; l.* ወ
ሚራይከ፡ ²⁷ *om.* ²⁸ ወ *om.* ²⁹ ወብሩርከ፡ *q. l.*
³⁰ ወሚራይዩ፡ *q. l.* ³¹ ወከብከብዩ፡ *q. l.* ³² ወከብከብከመሰ፡ *q. l.*
³³ ለ *om.* ³⁴ ወኢትትናገኒ፡ *q. l.* ³⁵ ነገር፡ *q. l.* ³⁶ ታም
ራንስ፡ ³⁷ ወ *om.* ³⁸ መርዐ፡ ³⁹ አንስቲያነ፡ ⁴⁰ አን
ስት፡ *add.* ⁴¹ ለ ትእዘዝ፡ ⁴² ሰሚዮን፡ ⁴³ ኃደጋ፡
⁴⁴ *om.* ⁴⁵ ኃደጉ፡

ወበቀለ¹፣ ደናግል፣ ተለዋ²፣ ወአበያ³፣ አውስቦ ። ወይቤ፣ መኩንን፣ ሐሩ⁴፣ አዎጽእዎ፣ ወተቀበልዎ፣ ለጳውሎስ ። ወይቤዝኩ⁵፣ መኩንን፣ ለጳውሎስ፣ አንተስ፣ ምንተ⁶፣ አንተ፣ ወምንት፣ ዝትእዘዝ⁷፣ ዘአም ጸእከ፣ ለዕሌን⁸፣ ውስተ፣ ሀገርን፣ ለአንስቲያን⁹፣ ይኅድጋ፣ ምቶን፣ ወብ እሲ¹⁰፣ ይኅድግ፣ ብእሲቶ፣ ወደናግል፣ አበያ¹¹፣ አውስቦ¹²፣ ምንት ኑ፣ ዘትብል፣ እንከ ። ወይቤ፣ ጳውሎስ፣ አይኑ፣ ይኒይስ¹³፣ አውስቦ፣ ወሚመ፣ ፈቀደ¹⁴፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ ወዘመንፈስ፣ ቅዱስ ። ወይቤሉ፣ ዝኩ፣ መኩንን፣ ርእዩ፣ ዓዲ፣ ከመያትዋሥአኒ¹⁵ ። ወይቤ፣ ንሥእዎ፣ እስርዎ¹⁶፣ ቊልቊሊተ፣ ወደዩ፣ ጌራ፣ ብርተ¹⁷፣ ውስተ¹⁸፣ ርእሱ፣ ወአ ውዕይዎ፣ በፒሳ፣ ወተይ፣ ወበኅሠረ¹⁹፣ ዐውድ²⁰፣ ወገብሩ፣ ከማሁ፣ ወሥእንዎ²¹፣ በእሳቶሙ፣ ለጳውሎስ፣ አውዕዮቶ²²፣ እስመ፣ መንፈስ፣ ቅዱስ፣ ላዕሌሁ ። ወአንከረ፣ ዝኩ²³፣ መኩንን²³፣ ወይቤ፣ መንከር፣ ዝ ነገር፣ እሳት፣ ዘኢይክል²⁴፣ አውዕዮቶ፣ አውዕእዎ²⁵፣ እምሀገርን፣ ንሥ ኡ፣ ዋዕዩ፣ ሐመዱ፣ ወአውዕኡ፣ እንዘ፣ ትብሉ፣ ናሁ፣ ዋዕዩ፣ ለጳውሎስ፣ ዘአውዓይናሁ²⁶፣ ወፍጹመ²⁷፣ ገደፍናሁ፣ ወገብሩ፣ ከማሁ ።

ወስምዓት²⁸፣ እማ፣ ለጤቀላ፣ ወትቤላ፣ ለጤቀላ፣ ናሁ፣ ርእዩ፣ ከ መ፣ ርእሶ፣ ጥቀ፣ ስእነ፣ አድኅና፣ ወሚመ፣ እንከ፣ ታውስቢኑ ። ወት ቤላ፣ ሰብሰብኪ²⁹፣ ለኪ፣ ይኩንኪ፣ አንሰ³⁰፣ ብዩ፣ ኢዩሱስሃ³⁰፣ ክርስቶስ³¹፣ ምእመን³²፣ ዘጳውሎስ፣ ይሰብክ፣ በስመ፣ እግዚአ፣ ሰማያት³³፣ ወምድር፣ ዘውእቱ³⁴፣ ያስተዳሉ፣ ሊተ፣ ፍሥሐ፣ በሰማያት ። ወእመ

• ዝትእዘዝ፡?

• አውስቦ፡?

• MS. A fol. 33 recto.

^d Dillmann refuses to recognize እንስ፡ *man*, given by Ludolf in his *Lexicon*, cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon* 771.

- ¹ ወበቃለ፡ *add.* ዘአሁ፡ *q. l.* ² ተለዋ፡ ³ ወዓቢያ፡ ⁴ ሐሩ፡
⁵ ወይቤሉ፡ ዝኩ፡ *q. l.* ⁶ ምንት፡ *q. l.* ⁷ ዝትእዘዝ፡
⁸ ላዕሌ፡ *q. l.* ⁹ ለአንስትኒ፡ ¹⁰ ወበብእሲ፡
¹¹ ዓቢያ፡ ¹² አውስቦ፡ *q. l.* ¹³ ይኒይስ፡ *q. l.* ¹⁴ ፈቃደ፡
¹⁵ ከመ፡ ይትዋሥአኒ፡ *q. l.* ¹⁶ ወእስርዎ፡ ¹⁷ ብርት፡
¹⁸ ዳቦ፡ ሌ ዳቦ፡ ¹⁹ ወበኅሠረ፡ ²⁰ ዓውድ፡ ²¹ ወ
²² ስዕንዎ፡ ሌ ወስእንዎ፡ ²³ *tr.* አውዕዮተ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ *q. l.* ²⁴ *corr.*
²⁵ አክህለ፡ *om.* ዘ፡ ²⁶ ወአውዕእዎ፡ ²⁷ ዘዓውአይናሁ፡ ሌ ዘአ
²⁸ ውዕይናሁ፡ ²⁹ ወዳመ፡ ³⁰ ሌ ወስምዓት፡ ³¹ ሰብሰብኪ፡
³² *q. l.* ³³ ምእመን፡ ³⁴ *om.* ³⁵ *corr.*; *prim. man.* ክርስትስ፡ (ክርስትስ?)
³⁶ ሰማያት፡ ³⁷ ሰማያት፡ ³⁸ ዘ *suppl. corr.*

ሷ፡ ትብሊሁ፡ እም፣ ንሥኢ፡ ዘንተ¹፡ ዙሎ፡ ዘአብሰልኪ¹፡ ወይናሂ፡
 ወመጋዝእትሂ²፡ ወአስዋረሂ፡ ሀቢ፡ ለነጻያ³፡ ወሊተሰ፡ ውስተ፡ ከብ
 ኩብ፣ ዐቢየ⁴፡ ሰብሰብ⁵፡ ሊተ፡ ወለእምየኒ⁶፡ ለኪ፡ ሠናየ⁷፡ በዝንቱ፡
 ንለም ። ወሊተሰሂ⁸፡ ለወለትኪ ፥ ወተምዐት⁹፡ ይእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ እማ ፥
 ወሐረት፡ ጎበ፡ መኩንን፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ለመኩንን፡ ኪየከሁ¹⁰፡ እንዘ፡
 ብየ¹¹፡ እትገፋዕ¹²፡ እምጎበ፡ ወለትየ፡ እንተ፡ ትአበይ¹³፡ አውስቦ፡
 አውዕያኬ፡ በከመ፡ አውዓይከ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ እስመ፡ አብደረት¹⁴፡ ት
 ሙት¹⁵፡ እምእርአያ¹⁶፡ በከመ፡ ኢይፈቅድ¹⁷ ፥ ወይቤላ፡ መኩንን፡
 ይወርውዋ¹⁸፡ ወይውገርዋ፡ ለጤቀላ፡ ወትቤ፡ እማ፡ ደናግልሂኬ፡ ጎ
 በ፡ ሀለዋ፡ አዝዝ፡ ያውርደ¹⁹፡ ዕፀወ፡ ውሉደ፡ ጊራን፡ ወዐበይት²⁰፡
 ወይርአያ²¹፡ ከመ፡ ያውዕይዎ፡ ለዘአብየ²²፡ አውስቦ ፥ ወገብሩ፡ ከማ
 ሁ ፥ ወአውረደ²³፡ ደናግል፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሀገር፡ ውሉደ፡ ዐበይት²⁴፡ ወ
 ጊራት²⁵፡ ዕፀወ ። ወወረደት፡ ጤቀላ²⁶፡ ሥርጉታ²⁷፡ ወላሕያ²⁸፡ መንክ
 ር፡ ወይበጽሕ፡ ሥዕርታ፡ እስከ፡ ሰኩናሃ፡ ወአፃብሂሃ፡ ዘውግ፡ ወጎ
 ብራ፡ ከመ፡ ቀርጎ፡ ነጌ ። ወይቤ፡ ውእቱ፡ መኩንን፡ ሂድዋ ። ሰርጎ²⁹፡
 እምላዕሌሃ፡ ወአውዕኩ፡ አልባሊሃ፡ ወሠቀ፡ አዕጥቅዋ፡ ወገበሩ³⁰፡
 ከማሁ ። ወይቤልዋ፡ ለጤቀላ፡ ሚዘታወስቢኑ³¹፡ ወሚመ፡ ዘኢታወስ
 ቢኑ፡ ወሚመ፡ ይወርውኪኑ³² ። ወትቤሎ³³፡ ጤቀላ፡ ለምንትኑ³⁴፡ ትፎ
 ርውኒ³⁵፡ ለልየ፡ እበውእ፡ ወኢያወስብ³⁶፡ ወአንደዱ፡ ዝኩ፡ እሳት³⁷፡
 መደንገፀ³⁸ ። ወገሩመ ። ወመጽት³⁹፡ ወትቤ⁴⁰፡ ጤቀላ፡ ለቦዊአ⁴¹፡

¹ *prim. man.* መደንገፀ፡

¹ *suppl. corr.*

² መጋዝእት፡ ሊ መጋዝእት፡ ³ ለነጻያ
⁴ ጎበ፡ ሊ ዐቢየ፡ ⁵ ሰብሰብ
⁶ ሂ *pro* ኒ ⁷ ሠናየ፡ *q. l.* ⁸ ወሊተሂ፡ *q. l.*
⁹ ወተምዐት፡ ሊ ወተምዐት፡ ¹⁰ ኪየከሂ፡ *q. l.* ¹¹ እምከብየ፡
¹² እትገፋዕ፡ ¹³ ተጎቢ፡ ሊ ተእቢ፡ ¹⁴ እበ
¹⁵ *om.* ¹⁶ እምእርአያ፡ ¹⁷ እኢፈቅድ፡ ¹⁸ ይ
¹⁹ ያውርደ፡ *q. l.* ²⁰ ወገብይት፡ ²¹ ወ
²² ለዘአብየ፡ ²³ ወአውረደ፡ *q. l.* ²⁴ ጎብይት፡
²⁵ ወጊራን፡ *q. l.* ²⁶ ሂ፡ *add. post* ጤቀላ፡ ²⁷ ሊ ስርጎታ፡
²⁸ ወላህያሂ፡ ²⁹ ሠርጎ፡ ³⁰ ወገብሩ፡ *q. l.* ³¹ ሚመ፡ ዘ
³² ታወስቢኑ፡ *q. l.* ³³ ይወርውኪኑ ፥ *q. l.* ³⁴ ወትቤ፡ ³⁵ ለ
³⁶ ምንት፡ ³⁷ ትፎርጫ፡ ³⁸ *corr.* ³⁹ ዝኩ፡ እሳት፡ *q. l.*
⁴⁰ መደንገፀ፡ *q. l.* ⁴¹ ወመጽት፡ *q. l.* ⁴² *om. recte* ⁴³ ለ
 ቦዊአ፡ *q. l.*

ሰፍሐት፡ እዳሃ¹፡ ወኃተማ²፡ ፍጽማ፡ ትቤ፡ በማጎተመ³፡ ክርስቶስ⁴፡
 ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘዳውሎስ፡ ይሰብክ፡ ከመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ወልደ፡
 እግዚአብሔር፡ ወኪያሁ፡ እንዘ፡ እትአመን፡ እበውእ፡ ትቤ ፥ ወቦአ
 ት፡ ጎቲማ፡ ዝኩ⁵፡ እሳት⁶፡ በማጎተመ፡ ክርስቶስ ፥ ወውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡
 ተጓዩዩ፡ ዝኩ፡ እሳት⁷፡ እምላዕሌሃ፡ ወዘንመ፡ ዝናመ⁸፡ እምሰማይ⁹፡
 ወአጥፍአ፡ ዝኩ¹⁰፡ እሳት¹¹፡ ወጸዓግ¹²፡ ጸዕዕ¹³፡ ወአጽመሞ¹⁴፡ እዝኖ^b፡
 ለዝኩ፡ መኩንን፡ እስመ፡ ሐለዩ፡ እኩዩ፡ ላዕለ^c፡ እግብርተ፡ እግዚአ
 ብሔር፡ ወመገለ፡ እዝኩ፡ ወዓጸዩ¹⁵፡ ወጸመመ¹⁶ ፥ ወመጽአት፡ ዝኩ¹⁷፡
 ጤቀላ፡ እማእከለ፡ እሳት፡ እንዘ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይፊሰያ^{d18}፡ ወሰደደታ፡ እ
 ማ፡ ወትቤላ፡ ኢትባኢ፡ ቤትዩ፡ ወኢትቅረብኒ፡ እምዮም^d፡ ነኪርዩ፡
 አንተ¹⁹፡ ሊተ ፥

ወይእቲ፡ ጤቀላ፡ ነበረት፡ ውስተ፡ ጎሞስ²⁰፡ ውስተ²¹፡ ሀገር፡ ወ
 እንዘ²²፡ ትነብር፡ ረከበት፡ ብእሲት²³፡ እንተ፡ ትፈድያ፡ ፲፻፯ናረ ፥
 ወትቤላ፡ ጤቀላ፡ አኩኑ፡ ፲፻፯ናረ፡ ዘትፈድዩኒ²⁴፡ ወትቤላ፡ ይእቲ፡
 ብእሲት፡ እው²⁵፡ እግዝእትዩ²⁶፡ ጎደጉ²⁷፡ ለኪ፡ ዙሉ²⁸፡ ሀብኒ፡ ፫²⁹፯
 ናረ፡ ወወሀበታ፡ ወጎደገት³⁰፡ ላቲ፡ ዙሉ፡ ዘትፈድያ፡ እስመ፡ ከማሁ፡
 ይብል፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ለእመ፡ ጎደገመ³¹፡ አበሳሆመ፡ ለቢጽካመ፡ ዩጎ
 ደግ³²፡ ለካመ፡ ጎጢአተካመ³³፡ ለቡካመ፡ ሰማያዊ ። ወዘንተ፡ ተዘ
 ኪራ፡ ጤቀላ፡ ጎደገት፡ ዘትፈድያ ። ወእምዝ፡ ርእዩት³⁴፡ ረድኡ፡ ለዳ
 ውሎስ³⁵፡ ወተለወቶ፡ ወትቤሎ³⁶፡ አይቲ፡ ሀለወ፡ እግዚእዩ፡ ዳውሎ

^a ? ^b *prim. man.* እዝና፡ ^c *ver. tot. ras.* ^d *corr.*
 • ዙ | ሉ፡ MS. A fol. 33 verso.
¹ እደዌሃ፡ q. l. ² ወኃተማ፡ q. l. ³ በማጎተመ፡ ⁴ ለ
 ክርስቶስ፡ ⁵ ዝኩ፡ q. l. ⁶ እሳት፡ q. l. ⁷ እሳት፡ q. l.
⁸ ዝናም፡ q. l. ⁹ *suppl. corr.* ¹⁰ ዝኩ፡ q. l. ¹¹ እሳት፡
 q. l. ¹² ወመጽአ፡ *corr. rec.*, q. l. ¹³ ፀዓ፡ q. l. ¹⁴ ወ
 አጽመመ፡ q. l. ¹⁵ ወዓጸዩ፡ q. l. ¹⁶ ወጸመ፡ q. l. ¹⁷ ዛቲ፡
 q. l. ¹⁸ ዘይፊሰያ፡ q. l. ¹⁹ አንተ፡ q. l. ²⁰ ሊ ቆሞስ፡
²¹ አላቲ፡ *add.* ²² ወ *om.* ²³ ብእሲት፡ q. l. ²⁴ ዘትፈ
 ድይ፤ ²⁵ እው፡ *add.* ²⁶ ወትቤላ፡ ጤቀላ፡ *add.*; q. l.
²⁷ ኃይጉ፡ ²⁸ ዙሉ፡ q. l. ²⁹ ፫ ³⁰ ወኃደገት፡ ³¹ ኃ
 ደገመ፡ ³² ዮኃደገ፡ ³³ አበሳካመ፡ ³⁴ ርእዩት፡ ³⁵ *prim.*
man.; *corr. rec.* ሰረድአ፡ ዳውሎስ፡ q. l. ³⁶ *prim. man. om.*;
suppl. corr.

ስ፡ ወይቤላ፡ ፈሪሆ፡ ኢያኦም¹፡ አንሱ፡ ወኢርኢከም² ። ወይጸው
 ሮ፡ ከነ፡ ዝኩ፡ ወልድ፡ ውሳጢት⁵፡ መልበሱ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ እስመ²³፡
 ይሰድድም፡ ወተለውም፡ ብዙኃን፡ ሰብእ፡ ወይቤልም፡ ውእቶሙ፡ ሰ
 ብእ፡ አለቅን⁶፡ ናሁ፡ ተለውነከ⁷፡ በሠሚረ፡ ቃልከ፡ ወኢነሣእን፡ ምን
 ተኒ፡ ዘንበል፡⁸ ወይእኬኒሂ⁹፡ ርኅብን፡ ወንሖር¹⁰፡ ናምጽእ፡ እከለ፡ ለ
 ኩልን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ኮንክሙ¹¹፡ ናሁ¹²፡ ይእኬ፡ አመጽእ፡ አነ፡ ወበ
 እንተዝ፡ ፈነወ፡ ውሳጢት¹³፡ መልበሱ፡ ወልዱ¹⁴፡ ይሢጥ፡ ዝኩ፡ ወ
 ልድ፡ ልብሶ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ ወነሢኦ፡ ኅብስት¹⁵፡ ወሀበቶ፡ ጤቀላ፡ ጀዲ
 ናር¹⁶፡ ወነሥኦት፡ ዝኩ¹⁷፡ መልበስ¹⁸፡ ወተለውቶ፡ ለረድኦ፡ ጳውሎስ፡
 ኅበ፡ ሀሎ፡ ዩኅድር¹⁹፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ሐዌሳ፡ እግዚ
 እየ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ አማን፡ ዐቢይ²⁰፡ እግዚእ፡ ዘታመልክ፡ አንተ፡ ወርኢ
 ኩ፡ ከመ፡ ይትኤዘዝ²¹፡ ሎቱ²²፡ ሰማይ፡ ወአማን፡ ያጠፍእ²³፡ እሳት²⁴፡
 ወይኳንን፡ ለዘ፡ ተኅዩሎሙ²⁵፡ ለአግብርተ፡ አግዚአብሔር ። ወይእኬ
 ኒ፡ አኅዙኒ፡ ወወደዩኒ፡ ውስተ፡ እሳት፡ በኢያውስቦ፡ እንዘ፡ ለእግዚ
 አብሔር፡ እብል²⁶፡ ወኢእፈቅዶ²⁷፡ ለዝ፡ ዓለም ። እስመ፡ ዘአውሰበ፡
 ዘዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ውእቱ፡ ወእምቀለ²⁸፡ መጸሕፍት፡ ይነግር፡ ዘሰበክ፡ አን
 ተ ። ወይእኬኒ፡ ተንሥኦ²⁹፡ አንተ፡ ወቅረጸኒ³⁰፡ ወአቅነተኒ³¹፡ ወእት
 ሉከ፡ ወእኩን³²፡ አመተ³³፡ እግዚአብሔር³⁴ ። ወተሰጥዋ³⁵፡ ጳውሎስ፡
 ወይቤላ³⁶፡ አማን፡ ሰማዕኩ፡ ሃይማኖትኪ³⁷፡ ያድኅኒኪ፡ እግዚአብሔ
 ር፡ እስመ፡ አዝማድኪ፡ ኩሎ³⁸፡ ይትፈሣሕ³⁹ ። ወይእኬኒ፡ ቅርጸትኪ

^a cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 771.

^b ታንሥኦ፡?

¹ ኢያኦምር፡ ² ወኢርከም፡ ³ ወይፀውር፡ ⁴ om.; ሊ
 ኩ፡ ⁵ ውሳጢት፡ ⁶ አለቅ፡ q. ሊ. ⁷ ተሰውናክ፡ q. ሊ.
⁸ tr. ዘንበል፡ ወኢምነተኒ፡ ⁹ ሂ om. ¹⁰ ወንሖር፡ ¹¹ ኮን
 ክሙ፡ ሊ. ይኩንክሙ፡ ¹² ርኅብ፡ ወ add. ante ናሁ፡ ¹³ ውማ
 ጢት፡ ሊ. ውሳጢት፡ ¹⁴ ሰወልዱ፡ q. ሊ. ¹⁵ ኅብስት፡ ¹⁶ ጃና
 ረ፡ q. ሊ.; om. ጀ ¹⁷ ዝኩ፡ q. ሊ. ¹⁸ መልበስ፡ q. ሊ. ¹⁹ ዩኅ
 ድር፡ ²⁰ ዓቢይ፡ ²¹ ይትኤዘዝ፡ ²² suppl. corr.
²³ om. ²⁴ ሊ. እሳት፡ ²⁵ ተሀዩሎሙ፡ ²⁶ ሊ. እብዕል፡
²⁷ ወኢያፈቅዶ፡ q. ሊ. ²⁸ ወቃለ፡; om. እም recte. ²⁹ ታንሥኦ፡ q. ሊ.
³⁰ ወቅርጸኒ፡ q. ሊ. ³¹ ወአቅነተኒ፡ q. ሊ. ³² ወ om. ³³ ዓ
 መተ፡ ³⁴ ወእግብር፡ ፈቃደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ add. ³⁵ ወተሠጥዋ፡
³⁶ ወይቤላ፡ add. ³⁷ ሊ. ሃይማኖትኪ፡ ³⁸ ኩሎ፡ q. ሊ. ³⁹ ይ
 ትፈሣሕ፡

ሰ¹፡ ወአቅንቶትኪ²፡ ኢይክል፡ ወረእይ³፡ በዘ፡ ኢይትከሀል፡ ላሕይ⁴፡
አንቲ፡ ፈድፈደ፡ ጥቀ፡ ወንስቲተ⁵፡ እንቲ፡ ዘኢተመከርኪ⁶፡ ወእመቦ፡
ዘከመ፡ ተስሕትኪ፡ ሕገ፡ ናእስ⁷፡ ዘኢረከበ፡ አሐደ⁸፡ ውሑደ፡ ትበው
ኢ፡ ወዝኩ፡ ሃይማኖትኪ፡ ይማስን፡ ሕገ፡ ዘተስሕተ፡ ወይእዜኒ፡ ተዓ
ገሢ፡ ምዕረ ። ወሰሐቀት⁹፡ ጤቀላ፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ዘይሰብክ፡ ኢይናፍቅ፡
ለሊሁ፡ ዑቅ፡ ወኢትናፍቅ¹⁰፡ አንተሂ፡ ወአእምሮ፡ አእምሮ¹¹፡ ከመ፡
መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ይረድአኒ ። ወውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ አንከረ¹²፡ ጳውሎስ፡
ወይቤላ፡ አማን¹³፡ ትቤሊ፡ ወለትየ ። ወተንሥአ፡ ወቀረዓ¹⁴፡ ወአቅን
ታ፡ ወሐሩ፡ ተስሎንቄ¹⁵፡

ወሰምዐተ¹⁶፡ እማ፡ ከመ፡ ተቀርጸት፡ ወቀነቀት፡ በከየት፡ ወሐረ
ት፡ ጎበ፡ መኩንን፡ ከልእ¹⁷፡ ዐቃቢሁ¹⁸፡ ለዘ፡ አጽመዋ፡ እዝኖ፡ ጽዓ
ዕ¹⁹፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ጤቀላሁ፡ ጎየለት²⁰፡ እምኩሉ፡ መኳንንተ፡ ምድር፡
ትትቀረጸሂ²¹፡ ወትትቀነትሂ፡ ወትእበይ²²፡ አውስቦ፡ ወርእሳ፡ ትኳን
ን፡ እንዘ፡ እማ፡ ሀለወት ። ወአልብክሙኑ²³፡ እለ፡ ትረድኡኒ፡ ኩን
ኖታ ። ወይቤላ፡ ዐቃቢሁ²⁴፡ ለዝኩ፡ ለዘ፡ ጽዓዕ²⁵፡ አጽመዋ²⁶፡ ጤቀላ፡
ዕፁ²⁷፡ እምኩሉ፡ ጎየለት²⁸፡ ሐሩ²⁹፡ አምጽእዋ፡ ወተቀበልዋ ። ወረ
ከብዋ፡ በተሰሎንቄ፡ ወአጎዝዋ፡ ወአምጽእዋ፡ ጎበ፡ ዝኩ፡ መኩንን፡
ወይቤላ፡ ጤቀላ³⁰፡ እምኩሉኑ፡ ኃየልኪ፡ አንቲ³¹፡ ትትቀረጸሂ³²፡ አን
ቲ³³፡ ወትትቀነትሂ³⁴፡ ወአው፡ አበይኪ³⁵፡ አውስቦ፡ ምንትኑ፡ ትብ
ሊ ። ወተሰጠወቶ³⁶፡ ጤቀላ፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ዚአከ፡ አነ፡ ኢሐለይኩ³⁷፡ መ
እመንየ³⁸፡ የዐቢ³⁹፡ ዘሎቱ፡ ነፍስየ፡ መጠውኩ፡ ውእቱ፡ ይባልሐኒ⁴⁰ ።

^a *prim. man.* ተስንቄ፡; *suppl. man. rec.* ^b MS. A fol. 34 recto.

¹ ቆልደ(ፊ. ያ)ተኪስ፡ *q. l.* ² ወአቅንተትኪ፡ *q. l.* ³ ወረእይኪ፡
q. l. ⁴ ላህይ፡ ⁵ ፊ. ወንስቲት፡ ⁶ ዘኢተመከረ፡ *om. ኪ፡*
⁷ ናዕስ፡ ⁸ ጅ ⁹ ፊ. ሠሐቀት፡ ¹⁰ ወ *om.* ¹¹ አንተ
ሂ፡ *add.* ¹² አንከረ፡? ¹³ እማነ፡ ¹⁴ ወቀረዓ፡ *corr.*
¹⁵ ተስሎንቄ ። ¹⁶ ወሰምዓት፡ ፊ. ሰምዐት፡ *aut potius* ሰሚን፡ ¹⁷ ካ
ልእ፡ *q. l.* ¹⁸ ዓቃቢሁ፡ ¹⁹ ፀዓዕ፡ *q. l.* ²⁰ *tr.* ኃየለት፡ ጤ
ቀላ፡ *om. ሁ* ²¹ ትትቀረጸሂ፡ *q. l.* ²² ወተዓቢ፡ ²³ ኑ *om.*
prim. man.; suppl. corr. ²⁴ ዓቃቢሁ፡ ²⁵ ፀዓዕ፡ *q. l.* ²⁶ እፀ
መዋ፡ ²⁷ ዕፁብ፡ ፊ. ዕጹብ፡ ²⁸ ኃየለት፡ ²⁹ ሐሩ፡
³⁰ *om.* ³¹ *tr.* አንቲ፡ ኃየልኪ፡ ³² ትትቀረጸሂ፡ ³³ *om.*
³⁴ ወትትቀነትሂ፡ *q. l.* ³⁵ ወአበይኪ፡ *om. አው፡* ³⁶ ወተሠጥወት፡
³⁷ ኢኃየልኩ፡ *q. l.* ³⁸ ማእምንየ፡ ³⁹ የዓቢ፡ ⁴⁰ ይድገዘ፡

እምእደ፡ መኳንንት፡ ወእምኩሉ¹፡ ዘእፈርህ² = ወይእዜኒ፡ ምንትት³፡
ትብል = ወይቤላ፡ ውእቱ፡ መኩንን፡ እርአይኬ⁴፡ ከመ፡ ትድጎኒ =
ወይቤሉ⁵፡ በከመ፡ ርእዩ፡ ቀደምት፡ አንተ፡ ትፊኢ = ወይቤላ፡ ውእ
ቱ፡ መኩንን⁶፡ እንከሰኬ፡ እርአይ⁷፡ ዘያድጎና፡ ሐሩ⁸፡ ደይዋ፡ ውስ
ተ፡ ቤተ፡ አናብስት⁹፡ ወድብ = ወነሥእዋ፡ ወወደይዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤ
ተ፡ ድብ፡ ወአናብስት¹⁰ = ወእምዝ፡ ሶበ፡ በጽሑ፡ ጥጎተ፡ ዝኩ፡ ቤ
ተ፡ ድብ፡ ወአናብስት¹¹፡ ሰፍሐት፡ እደዊሃ፡ ከዕበ¹²፡ በከመ፡ ልማዳ፡
ወጎተመት¹³፡ ርእሳ፡ በትእምርተ፡ መስቀል¹⁴ = ወእምአንቀጹ፡ ጎተ
መት¹⁵፡ በስመ፡ ኢየሱስ¹⁶፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወእበውእ፡ ዮ
ምኒ¹⁷፡ እንዘ፡ ይረድአኒ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ = ወበእንተዝ፡ ትትፈሣ
ሕ¹⁸ = ወመሰሉሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ወሰድዋ¹⁹፡ ዘይበልዕዋ፡ ዝኩ²⁰፡ አራ
ዊት = ወሶበ፡ ርእይዋ፡ ዝኩ²⁰፡ አራዊት፡ ተንሥኡ፡ ወሰገዱ፡ ላቲ፡
ወአጎዙ፡ ይልሐስዋ፡ ወያንገርግሩ፡ ዲበ፡ እገሪሃ = ወይእቲሰ፡ ሰፍ
ሐት፡ እደዊሃ፡ ወአጎዘት፡ ትጸሊ፡ ወትቤ፡ ታኣኩቶ²¹፡ ነፍስዩ፡ ለእ
ግዚአብሔር፡ ዘአቅደመ፡ ገቢረ፡ ሣህሉ²²፡ እምቅድመ፡ ዓለም፡ ወይ
ሄሉ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘኢይመውት፡ ዘገብረ፡ ሰማ
የ፡ ወምድረ፡ በአሐዱ²³፡ ቃል፡ ወኩሉ²⁴፡ ዘውስቴቶሙ²⁵፡ ዘገብራ፡ ለ
ባሕር፡ ወለኩሉ፡ ዘውስቴታ፡ ዘገብሮ፡ ለእንለ²⁶፡ እመሕያው፡ በእርአ
ያሁ፡ ወበእምሳሊሁ፡ ውእቱ፡ ገብረ፡ ሊተ፡ ለዘ፡ አመንኩ፡ በስሙ፡
ወበጎይሉ²⁷፡ ወበጥበቡ²⁸፡ ወበምክሩ፡ ለዘበቃሉ፡ ተገብረ፡ ዘውእቱ፡
አዘዘ፡ ወኩሉ²⁹፡ ኮነ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ሠምረ፡ ወኩሉ²⁹፡ ተፈጥረ፡ ለዘ³⁰፡
እግዚአብሔር፡ ውእቱ፡ ሰብእ³¹፡ ተመሰለ፡ ወኮነ፡ ሰብአ፡ ወአስተር
አየ = ወእንዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሞተ፡ ወአመ፡ ሣልስተ³²፡ ዕለት፡ ተን

1 ወእምኩሉ፡ q. ሌ. 2 ዘእፈርህ፡ q. ሌ. 3 ምንትት፡ q. ሌ.
4 እርአይኬ፡ corr. 5 ወትቤሉ፡ q. ሌ. 6 tr. መኩንን፡ ውእቱ፡
7 እርአይ፡ 8 ሐሩ፡ 9 ሌ. ፀናብስት፡ 10 ወነሥእዋ... ወአና
ብስት፡ om. 11 ሌ. ወፀናብስት፡ 12 ካዕበ፡ q. ሌ. 13 ወጎተ
መት፡ 14 ወእምአንቀጹ፡ ሐትመት፡ ርእሳ፡ በትእምርተ፡ መስቀል፡ add.
prim. man.; om. corr. 15 ሐትመት፡ 16 ክርስትስ፡ 17 ሌ.
om. 18 ትትፈሣሕ፡ 19 ይወስድዋ፡ 20 እሉ፡ q. ሌ.
21 ተኣኩት፡ 22 ሣህሉ፡ q. ሌ. 23 በፃ 24 ወኩሉ፡ q. ሌ.
25 ዘውስቴታ፡ 26 ለዕጋለ፡ 27 ወበጎይሉ፡ 28 ወ om.
29 ወኩሉ፡ q. ሌ. 30 ለ ሌ. እንዘ፡ 31 ሰብአ፡ q. ሌ. 32 ግል
ስት፡ q. ሌ.

ሥአ : ከመ : ምውታን¹ : ያሕዩ : ወይባልሕ : ለዘየአምኑ² : በስሙ : ከመዝ : ለዘአጽነን : ወወረደ³ : ወዓርገ⁴ : ለዘ⁵ : በአማን⁶ : አቡሁ⁷ : ነበረ : ወቀደመ : ነበረ : ወዓለም⁸ : ሀሉ : ውእቱ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ = አሐዱ⁹ : ውእቱ : መፍቀሬ : ሰብእ : ወመስተዐግሥ¹⁰ : ውእቱ : መኃሪ¹¹ : ዘኢያስተፈሥሕ¹² : ጸላእተን¹³ : ለዕሌን¹⁴ = ወአጥፍአ : ነበልባለ : እሳት : ወአክፍአ : ስነን : አናብስት¹⁵ : ለከ : ስብሐት : ወአኩቲት : ወለከ : ቅድስያት¹⁶ : ለአብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ = ወዘንተ : ቃለት¹⁷ : እንዘ : ትጼሊ : ጤቀላ : መጽአ : ዘይርእያ¹⁸ : ለእመ : በልዕዋ : አራዊት : ወለእመሂ : ሀለወት : እስመ : አብእዋ¹⁹ = ዝኩ : መኩንን : ደኅራዊ²⁰ : ዐቃቢሁ²¹ : ለዝኩ : ለዘ : ጸዓዐ²² : አጽመዋ : ተቀሥፈ : ዙላ : ለያልዩ²³ : ወኢያእመረ : ዘይቀሥፎ : ወይቤ : ሐሩኬ²⁴ : ርእዩ : ዓጽማ²⁵ : ለጤቀላ : እመቦ : ዘትረክቡ²⁶ : ንቅብራ : ወንድሳን²⁷ : እም : ዝንቱ : መቅሠፍት = ወሶበ : የሐውሩ²⁸ : ይርእይዋ²⁹ : ረከብዋ³⁰ : ሕያውታ = ወገብኩ : ኀበ : ዝኩ : መኩንን : ወነገርዎ : ከመ : ሀለወት : ሕያውታ = ወይቤሉሙ : መኩንን : ንሖር³¹ : ወኅዊርሙ³² : ይቤሉ : ስቡሕ : እግዚአብሔር : ዘአድኅነኪ³³ : እግዚእኪ : ዘአምለኪ : ወኅረይኪ³⁴ : ወአብደርኪ³⁵ : እስመ : እምአመ³⁶ : አባእኩኪ^b : ውስተዝ³⁷ : አናብስት³⁸ : እትቀሠፍ : ነዩ : እስከ : ዮም = ንዒ : የኢ : ወጸልዩ : ላዕሌዩ : ወላዕለ : ዝኩ³⁹ : መኩንን : ዘእስከ : ዮም : ዘዓፄ⁴⁰ : እዝኑ⁴¹ = ወትቤሉ : ጤቀላ : እንከሰኬ : ላዕሌከሂ : ወላዕለ : ዝኩሂ⁴² : መኩንን : ኢይክል : ጸልዮ : ለእመ : ኢያምጸእከምዎ :

^a corr.; *prim. man.* ወክብርኪ :

^b corr.; *prim. man.* አባእኩኪ :

^c MS. A fol. 34 verso.

¹ ምውታን : *q. l.*

² ለእለ : የአምኑ : *q. l.*

³ ሰማደተ : *add.*

⁴ ሊ. ወዐርገ :

⁵ *del. man. rec.?*

⁶ የማነ : *q. l.*

⁷ አብ :

⁸ ለዓለም : *q. l.*

⁹ *om.*

¹⁰ ወመስተዓግሥ :

¹¹ መሐፊ : ሊ.

መሓፊ :

¹² ዘያስተፈሥሕ : *om. ሕ.*

¹³ ጸላዕተ :

¹⁴ ላዕ

ሌ፤ *q. l.*

¹⁵ ሊ. ዐናብስት :

¹⁶ ቅድሳት : *q. l.*

¹⁷ ቃለ : *q. l.*

¹⁸ ዘይሬእዩ : *q. l.*

¹⁹ አብአ :

²⁰ ደኃራዊ : *q. l.*

²¹ ዓቃ

ቢሁ :

²² ፀዓዐ : *q. l.*

²³ ሊ. ሌሊት :

²⁴ ሐሩ :

²⁵ ዓ

ፀማ : ሊ. ዐፀማ :

²⁶ ዘትረክብዋ :

²⁷ ወንድኃን :

²⁸ ሐሩ :

²⁹ ርእይዋ :

³⁰ ወረክብዋ :

³¹ ንሖር :

³² ወሐዊርሙ : *q. l.*;

³³ ዘኢያኃኪ :

³⁴ ወኃረየኪ :

³⁵ ወክብደረኪ :

³⁶ አመ ;

om. እም

³⁷ ወስተ : እሉ : *q. l.*

³⁸ ሊ. ዐናብስት :

³⁹ ዝ

ኩኒ :

⁴⁰ የዓፄ : ሊ. የዐፄ :

⁴¹ እዝኖ :

⁴² ሂ *om.*

ለጳውሎስ፡ ውእቱ፡ ይጸሊ፡ ላዕሌከሙ፡ ወይቤላ፡ ሀሎት¹፡ እንጋ፡ አ
ከኑ፡ ሰግዕኩ፡ ከሙ፡ አውዐይዎ²፡ ወገደፋ፡ አዕጽዎቲሁ³፡ ወትቤ
ሎ⁴፡ እው፡ ኪየየሂ⁵፡ ወአውዓይከሙኒ⁶፡ ወገደፋከሙኒ፡ አዕጽዎትየ⁷፡
ወአምኑ⁸፡ ወፈነው⁹፡ ይጸውዕዎ¹⁰፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ ወአመጽአ¹¹፡ ጳውሎ
ስ፡ ወጸለየ፡ ላዕለ፡ ገዝሂ¹²፡ መኩንን፡ ዘጸዓዕ¹³፡ አጽመዋ¹⁴፡ እዘኒ
ሁ፡ ወላዕለ፡ ከልኡ¹⁵፡ ዐቃቢሁ¹⁶፡ ዳጎራዊ¹⁷፡ ዘይትቀሠፍ፡ ወሐይ
ው¹⁸፡ ከልኡሆሙ¹⁹፡ በገይለ²⁰፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ²¹፡ ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለ
ዎ፡ አጫን፡ ወአጫን²²፡

The translation that follows is in general based upon the text of A. Where the readings of B have been followed, or where the readings of both have been displaced by a conjectural emendation, the fact is duly indicated in the footnotes of the first margin. While some other of B's readings are translated in these notes, the notes are not designed to cover all the significant variants of B. These textual notes are referred to by superior numerals. Superior letters refer to the critical notes which occupy the second margin. The proper names of the Ethiopic are given in their usual English forms, the only exceptions being Tāmerēnōs or Tāmerēnes (for Thamyris) and Walda Giyōrgis, in both of which it seemed desirable to imitate the Ethiopic closely. For the sake of uniformity, however, the former name has been thus

¹ ሀላወኑ፡ ² አውዓ፡ ³ አዕጽዎቲሁ፡ q. l. ⁴ ስ om.
⁵ ኪየየሂ፡ q. l. ⁶ ወ om. ⁷ አዕጽዎትየ፡ q. l. ⁸ ወፈነው፡
q. l. ⁹ ወጸውዕዎ፡ ¹⁰ ወመጽአ፡ q. l. ¹¹ ሂ om. ¹² ዘፀ
¹³ ዓዕ፡ q. l. ¹⁴ አጽመዋ፡ ¹⁵ ካልኡሂ፡ q. l. ¹⁶ ዓቃቢሁ፡
¹⁷ ደኃራዊ፡ ¹⁸ ወሐይሂ፡ q. l. ¹⁹ ጀሆሙ፡ ²⁰ በኃይለ፡
²¹ ወአምኑ፡ ጀሆሙ፡ በስሙ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ከማሁ፡ ፈውሶ፡ እገዢ፡ እም
ሕማም፡ ያፍሰ፡ ወምጋ፡ ለገባርክ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ add. ²² om. — ወ
ሊተ፤ ለዘጸሐፍከዋ፡ ገባርክ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ወአባሲ፡ ስረይ፡ (ፈ ስፈ)፡ ኃጢአት፡ (ፈ
ገጢአት)፡ ወባርክ፡ add.

Professor Nöldeke, who has examined the Ethiopic proofs, kindly furnishes the following additional notes: P. 72, note 7, omit ሂ. 727h; note 12, omit q. l.—P. 73, omit note 15; note 20, add q. l.; note 30, omit q. l.; note 41, read q. l. for ሂ. ክራን፡—P. 74, note 2, omit q. l.—P. 75, l. 7, read ለጽዎራዊስ፡ l. 14, read አመስከት፡ note 31, omit ሂ. ለዐጻዊ፡ note 32, omit ሂ. ዐንቅ፡—P. 76, note 11, omit ሂ. ንእስት፡ note 19, omit q. l.—P. 79, note 9, omit ሂ. ወትምዕዕት፡—P. 81, note 11, omit ሂ. ይኩንከሙ፡—P. 84, note 2, omit q. l.; note 31, omit q. l.

showed patience that those who believed in his name might be patient and inherit the kingdom of heaven, and stand with him and with his Father, whose are the counsel and the wisdom and the might of God. Blessed are they who make poor their soul, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the righteous, for they shall inherit life. Blessed are they that mourn now for their sin; them shall the righteous admonish.¹ Blessed are they who hunger and thirst now, for they shall be satisfied in all their prayer when they pray unto God in their affliction. Blessed are the doers of charity, for to them belongs mercy with God. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are they who make peace and reconcile,² for they shall be called children of God. Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall hate you for righteousness' sake; rejoice at that time and be exceeding glad (Matt. 5:3-12; Luke 6:20-23). Blessed is the man that follows the commandment of God, and renounces the desire of this world. Blessed art thou, if thou dost leave thy substance and dost follow the command of God. Blessed is the woman who does not marry, but renounces this world, and the virgin who does not marry, but remains by herself (1 Cor. 7:38), saying unto God that he who marries is the portion of Gehenna. And if a woman has married in ignorance, she shall remain with her husband, and a man also with his wife (1 Cor. 7:27). But if he marry another, he is the portion of Gehenna. But if thou dost follow the admonition of God, thou shalt inherit the kingdom of heaven. But know that the wealth of this world is vanity, and its life is vanity, and its gold and its silver, vanity, and he who loves it and he who trusts it; and beyond all else is pride evil, for the proud God sets at naught.

Be not like all gentiles who draw near unto God with their mouth, but their heart is far from God (Matt. 6:7). Because of them(?), ye shall not hate your enemies, and those who love you ye shall not love (Matt. 5:43, 44). But if ye love him who loves you, ye do no more than other gentiles (Matt. 5:46). But if your enemy hunger, feed him; and if he thirst, give him drink (Rom. 12:20); and if he be naked, clothe him (Matt. 25:36); and if thou hast one garment, divide with him, and clothe him. And if thou doest this, thou shalt gather and pour coals of fire upon his head. And when thou seest thy neighbor's property thou shalt not spend it upon thyself, and thou shalt not covet it (Exod. 20:17), and thou shalt not say, If I live I will gain all this; for thou dost not know when³ thou prayest, that when a house is full of gold and silver, the thief comes and robs it, and leaves it bare (Matt. 6:19). Thus therefore ye men also know not the time when judgment will come from God

¹ Or "comfort," "encourage;" if we are to assume a Greek original, it probably had παρακαλέσουσιν.

² Or become reconciled one with another.

³ MSS., "where." It is suggested that in the Greek text lying more or less remotely back of the *Book* *επου* and *επει* may have been confused.

and he will take your soul away (Luke 12:20), and ye shall be naked, without provision¹ before God; and your glory and your soul also shall perish in Gehenna. And now reflect and take heed unto yourselves, I entreat you and beseech you in the name of God our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye be heedful of the admonition we have given you and accept *it*. This, therefore, is the will of God, that ye do what ye have heard and seen and learned, and that the law of God be not a lie.² But the people who received the law of God became alien. And now also, my brethren, love one another (John 15:12; 1 John 4:7). Why do I write to you? Because of his love ye are admonished and taught of God³ (1 Thes. 4:9) in the holy gospel. And ye have heard our Lord Jesus Christ speak, who laid down his life (John 10:15, 17) for our sake⁴ and for the sake of those who believe in the shedding of his blood, which he shed⁵ for our sake that we also who believe in him might be saved from our sins (Matt. 1:21).

And he says to us in the word of the gospel: But do ye, O men, love one another, because thus God loved us (John 3:16). And he said, If ye love God, love one another (John 15:12). But there is none that has seen God (John 1:18) except the Son of man who came down from thence (John 3:13). But if ye love God, love one another (John 15:12), and love your neighbor as yourself (Matt. 19:19). And what ye will not that men should do to you, ye also shall not do to another (Matt. 7:12). And our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ spoke all this commandment.

And now further ye shall not marry anyone whom ye find and ye shall not covet another's wife (Exod. 20:17; Deut. 5:21). But if her husband be dead, she shall dwell by herself: she shall not marry (1 Cor. 7:39, 40). But if she is not able to refrain without a husband, she shall marry one, for it is better to marry than to commit fornication (1 Cor. 7:9). And how will ye commit fornication when ye are the body of God, and your body the body of God? Now, also, do not make the body of God the body of a harlot (1 Cor. 6:15), for when a man has intercourse with a woman⁶ they become one flesh (1 Cor. 6:16). Do not, therefore, have intercourse with a harlot; and as for one who marries a harlot, his judgment is death in Gehenna. Commit your soul to Jesus Christ, the son of God, for everyone who commits his soul before God shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.⁴

¹ *Lit.*, the *viaticum*.

² In spite of the violence this translation does the verb, it seems the only possible rendering.

³ by the word of God *add.* B.

⁵ who shed his blood, A.

⁴ and for the sake of our sins *add.* B.

⁶ the wife of a man, A.

⁴ The extreme length of Paul's discourse—about one-fourth of the Ethiopic—finds no parallel in the Greek, Syriac, Armenian, or Latin. In the Ethiopic, as in the others, the inculcation of the virginity doctrine is framed in a series of beatitudes, but the Ethiopic has also made large use of the language of the gospel and epistles of John.

And while Paul was proclaiming all this and preaching, Thekla heard. And she was the beloved of Tāmerēnōs, and the window of her house and the court of the house of the dwelling of Paul were opposite each other. But now she followed, and she thirsted for all this which delighted her, and kept *it* in her heart. And she staid three days without going down from the window of her house. And her mother spoke to her and said to her, My child, wilt thou not come down from the window, and eat food, and drink¹? Art thou not the betrothed of Tāmerēnōs? And the more she spoke to Thekla, the more she was unable to endure in her heart, and she came down from the window² and desired to go unto Paul. And Thekla took her golden tire and she bribed the doorkeeper of their house and said, Put *this* on, and do not tell that I am going forth by myself.* And the doorkeeper took her golden tire, and let her go unto Paul. And when she came she began to roll herself beneath his feet and she licked the dust of his feet³ and his footstool, and she said to Paul, Blessed is he that hears your exhortation, and is able to observe it. And now, my lord, teach me also it all, that I may not lose the kingdom of heaven. For blessed is the man that does the commandment of God, and believes that Christ is Son of God. And he said to her, Blessed art thou, Thekla, while thou art young, to love this and seek *it*, for blessed is the man that seeks God and Jesus Christ, and that is persecuted for his sake and is cast out and is thirsty and hungry⁴ and naked and dies; who possesses it all in life in this world, and lays down his life like sheep that are led to the slaughter⁵ (Isa. 53:7). And I trust and believe in the name of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, that everyone that gives himself up for his name's sake conquers all this, because he loved us. And in his name (and) we also will do his will, because it is certain that neither death nor life nor judgment nor that which now is nor that which is to come nor might nor height nor angels nor any other creature is able to separate us from the love of⁶ Christ our Lord (Rom. 8:38, 39).

And after that time for many days Thekla continued to go and return. So when her mother perceived it, she sought her and did not

¹ water *add.* B.

⁴ and is afflicted *add.* B.

² of her house *add.* B.

⁵ slaughter-knife, B.

³ footstool, B.

⁶ Jesus *add.* B.

* The visit of Thamyris to Thekla and Theokleia's protest against her conduct, which precede Thekla's visits to Paul in the Greek and the versions, fall after her visits in the Ethiopic, and the account of Paul's imprisonment at the instance of Thamyris is omitted. Thekla's visit to Paul thus becomes in the Ethiopic a visit to the house of his host, Tamere-nos, not, as in the Greek, Syriac, etc., a visit to his prison, and her behavior on that visit loses its original significance. The necessity for bribing the jailer with a silver mirror (Greek, Syr., Arm.) thus disappears. The single visit of the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian is seven times repeated in the Ethiopic, before Theokleia discovers what is going on. Then Paul is arrested for the first time, in the Ethiopic; while according to the Greek and the versions it is then that he is scourged and set at liberty, while Thekla is brought before the governor, and sentenced to the flames.

find her. And while she sought her, she asked the doorkeeper, and as he was afraid, he told her. And her mother went to the house of Paul and found her. And she brought her back to her house and said, Summon Tāmerēnes to me. And they summoned Tāmerēnes. And she said to him, Hear about this thy wife. Today is the seventh day since a man whom they call Paul came, and she has learned his teaching and has received it, and behold¹ she goes forth at night and goes unto him. And Tāmerēnes heard what she said, and he went unto her and said to her, My lady, what dost thou say of the thing that I have heard, even the story of thy mother?² Tell me³ what it is, and do not hide it from me. But if⁴ thou wilt not marry me, tell me. And she said to him, Go your way; but my marriage is another one. And Tāmerēnes said to her, Do not listen to this man; he deceives thee, and thou wilt lose this world for idle talk; and the gold and silver and costly raiment and purple and samite⁵ of your house are so much. And Thekla said to him, Let thy gold and thy silver be thine, and thy raiment and thy purple be thine; but as for me, my gold and my silver and my raiment and my purple and my nuptials are the kingdom of heaven. But let your nuptials be yours, and do not mention this matter to me. But Tāmerēnōs was angry at her and went forth and went to the house of the governor and told him and said to him, This man who has come into our country corrupts our wives, and many women hearing his teaching have left their husbands, and men moreover have left their wives, and virgins also follow his teaching and refuse to marry. And the governor said, Go, bring him. And they brought⁶ Paul. And the governor said to Paul, But who art thou? And what is this teaching that thou hast brought upon us in our city, to our wives that they should leave their husbands, and the husband also should leave his wife? And the virgins refuse to marry. What is it that thou sayest, therefore? And Paul said, Which is better, marrying or the commandment of God and of the Holy Spirit? And the governor said to him, See, moreover, that he disputes me! And he said, Seize him, bind him downward and put a circlet of brass upon his head and burn him with pitch and sulphur and with chaff of the floor. And they did so.⁷ And they were not able to burn Paul with their fire because the Holy Spirit was upon him. And the governor was amazed.⁷ And he said, This thing is wonderful, that the fire is not able to burn him. Cast him out of our city, take the burning of his ashes, and bear them forth, saying, Behold the burning of Paul whom we have burned, and have utterly cast forth. And they did so.

¹ by myself *add.* A.

² Tell me *om.* B.

³ which she has told me *add.* B.

⁴ But if *om.* B.

⁵ The readings of the manuscripts here are, as Professor Charles suggests, perhaps corruptions for *ἐδάμυρος*.

⁶ *Lit.*, met.

⁷ Or wondered.

⁷ The attempted execution of Paul does not appear in the Greek or the versions.

And the mother of Thekla heard, and she said to Thekla, Behold, see that he was quite unable to save himself; wilt thou, therefore, marry? And she said to her, Let thy marriage be thine own; I have a husband, even Jesus Christ the faithful, Lord of heaven and earth, in whose name Paul preaches, who is preparing the passover for me in heaven. But if thou sayest it, my mother, take all this that thou hast cooked, the wine¹ also and the fatlings and the bullocks, *and* give them to the poor and needy.² But as for me, in my marriage great nuptials are mine, and honorable to my mother, even to thee, in this world, and to me thy child also.³ And then her mother was angry, and she went to the governor and said to the governor, Although thou thyself also art with me, I am wronged by my child, who refuses to marry. Burn her, therefore, as ye burned Paul, because I prefer⁴ that she should die than that I should see her as I do not desire. And the governor said to her, Let them cast Thekla forth, and let them stone her. And her mother said, Wherever there are virgins also, therefore, command that the children of the good and great bring down fagots and see that they burn one who refuses to marry. And they did so. And the virgins of that city, the children of the great and good, brought fagots, and Thekla came down wonderfully adorned and beautiful, and her hair reached even to her heel and toes, and her color was like ivory. But the governor said, Snatch her adornment from off her, and take away her garments, and gird sackcloth upon her. And they did so. And they said to Thekla, Wilt thou marry? or wilt thou not marry and 'shall they cast thee in? And Thekla said, Why will ye cast me in? I will go in myself; and I will not marry. And they kindled the terrible and dreadful fire. And Thekla came⁵ to go in, *and* she stretched forth her hands, and signing⁶ her forehead she said, With the sign of Christ the Son of God, whom Paul proclaims to be the Son of God, and since I believe him, I will go in, she said. And making the sign she went into the fire with the sign of Christ, and straightway the fire fled from before her, and there rained rain from heaven and extinguished the fire, and there came a crash of thunder and deafened the ear of the governor, because he had devised evil against the servants of God; and his ear festered and putrefied and was deaf.⁷ And Thekla came forth from the midst of the fire, while

¹ MSS., its wine.² and needy *om.* A.³ Reading **አበድር**: with B; A, she prefers.⁴ *Lit.*, or.⁵ and said *add.* A.⁶ Or sealing.

⁷ For this conversation between Thekla and Theokleia there is naturally no place in the Greek or the versions, as in them Thekla is hurried from her visit to Paul's prison immediately to trial and execution. The Ethiopic thus stands alone in ascribing the arrest of Thekla to the instance of her mother.

⁸ The deafening of Thekla's judge by the thunder is peculiar to the Ethiopic, as is the episode of the debt forgiven.

there was naught that detained her. And her mother cast her off, and said to her, Thou shalt not enter into my house nor approach me. From this day thou art a stranger to me.

And Thekla tarried in a tomb (?) in the city,¹ and² while she was tarrying *there* she found a woman who owed her one thousand dinars. And Thekla said to her, Is it not one thousand dinars that thou owest me? And the woman said, Yes,³ my lady. And Thekla said,⁴ I forgive thee all of it. Give me three⁵ dinars. And she gave her *them*. And she forgave her all that she owed. For thus says the Scripture, If you forgive your brethren their fault, your heavenly Father will forgive you your sins (Matt. 6: 14). And because she remembered this, she forgave what she owed her. And then she saw the attendant of Paul, and she followed him and said to him, Where is my lord Paul? And because he was afraid, he said to her, I do not know the man, and I have not seen him.⁶ Now this young man was carrying the inner garment of Paul. For they were persecuting him. And many men⁷ followed him, and the men said to him, Alas, our master, behold we have followed thee in the enjoyment of thy discourse and we have not brought anything to eat. And now moreover we are hungry, and we will go *and* bring food for us all. And he said to them, Enough.⁸ Behold now I will bring *it*. And on this account he had sent his tunic by⁹ his servant, that the servant might sell Paul's garment and get bread.¹⁰ And Thekla gave him two dinars¹¹ and she took up the garment and followed the attendant of Paul to where Paul was dwelling with him. And she said to him,¹² O¹³ my lord

¹ a city, B.

² eight, B.

³ *Om.* B.

⁴ Are ye hungry? B.

⁵ Yes, yes, B.

⁶ *Lit.*, to; *om.* A.

⁷ And Thekla said *om.* A.

⁸ The coördination of an inf. and impf. in an expression of purpose is bad Ethiopic and, as Professor Charles points out, may be due to a lapse on the part of the writer into the idiom of his Greek original, whether directly used or known through an Arabic version.

⁹ a dinar, B.

¹⁰ Or Very well.

¹¹ By its departure from the older form of the story the Ethiopic is here betrayed into some inconsistency. Paul's attendant, afraid of further persecution, denies any knowledge of Paul, but seems immediately to conduct Thekla to Paul's abode. In the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Armenian this attendant first accosts Thekla and offers his guidance to Paul, upon which their going to Paul's abode follows with all smoothness.

¹² Many men: In the Greek and the versions these are Onesiphorus and his wife and children; and it is the children who become hungry.

¹³ For the responsive prayer with which Thekla's appearance before Paul is so dramatically accompanied in the Greek and the versions, the Ethiopic substitutes Thekla's brief account of her deliverance, and, omitting the eucharistic meal, proceeds with Thekla's request that Paul cut her hair. In the Ethiopic he does this, though with reluctance; but in the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian the hair-cutting seems to be postponed. Of the "seal of baptism" the Ethiopic has no trace.

Paul, verily the Lord whom thou dost worship is great, and I have seen that heaven obeys him. Verily he puts out the fire and judges him who oppresses the servants of God. And now also they laid hold of me and cast me into the fire for not marrying, because I am wedded¹ to God and do not desire this world. For he that marries is of this world, and² the word of the Scriptures which thou dost preach proclaims it. And now, therefore, do thou rise up and cut off my hair and gird me, and I will follow thee, and I will be the handmaid of God.³ And Paul answered her and said to her, Truly I have heard of thy faith. God will preserve thee because all thy kinsfolk rejoice. But now I am not able to cut off thy hair and gird thee. And it is thy⁴ beauty on account of which it is impossible. Thou art very exceedingly beautiful, and thou art young, who hast not been proved; and if perchance thou dost err in the manner of the young who do not know⁵ even a very little, thou wilt go on and this thy faith then will be destroyed after the manner of the error that has been committed. Now therefore wait a little. And Thekla laughed and said to him, He who preaches does not doubt himself. See, and do not thou also be unbelieving. And⁶ know certainly that the Holy Spirit will help me. And then Paul wondered and said to her, Thou speakest truly, my child. And he rose up and cut off her hair and girded her; and they went to Thessalonica.¹

And when her mother heard that she had cut off her hair and girded herself, she wept and went unto another governor, the minister of the

¹Reading **አብዕል**: "I am rich" or "I am wedded." Possibly a form of **በለለ**: "to be separate" is meant; cf. **መበለት**: "deaconess," 1 Tim. 5:11.

²from *add. A.*

³and will do the will of God *add. B.*

⁴*Om. A.*

⁵*Lit.*, have not seen. The text in this sentence is very obscure.

⁶Do thou also *add. B.*

¹ *Thessalonica*: For this the Greek and the versions have Antioch, and they proceed to recount the story of Thekla's persecutions in that city, through the love and jealousy of Alexander, how she was repeatedly saved from death by a lioness—no doubt Jerome's *baptisati leonis fabulam*—baptized herself in the seal-tank of the arena, and was adopted by Tryphæna. Finally the older form of the Acts concludes with her visit to Iconium after the death of Thamyris, and her ultimate residence and evangelizing activity at Seleucia. With all this the Ethiopic has few points of contact. The loss is the more conspicuous since in this part of the early Acts stood Thekla's admitted claim to teach and to baptize, which gave the Acts of Paul and Thekla their chief interest and importance in the ancient church. It is enough to cite the *locus classicus* in Tertullian, *De Baptismo* 17 (ca. 190 A. D.): *Quodsi qui Pauli perperam inscripta legunt, exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguentique defendunt, sciant in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confesum se id amore Pauli fecisse loco decessisse*. With the omission of two sayings—Thekla's answer to Paul, "He who commanded thee to preach, the same commanded me also to baptize," and Paul's charge to her, "Go [to the city of Iconium], teach there the commands and words of God"—the writer of the Ethiopic Thekla has lost quite half the point of his original. What he has left is a discourse inculcating virginity, and a somewhat elaborate though unconsummated martyrdom.

one whose ear the thunder deafened. And she said to him, Is Thekla stronger than all the governors of the land? She has cut off her hair and girded herself, and she refuses to marry, and she governs herself while her mother is still alive. Will ye not help me¹ to judge² her? And the minister of him whom the thunder deafened said to her, Thekla is hard to deal with; she is stronger than all; go, bring her, and take her. And they found her in Thessalonica. And they laid hold of her and brought her to the governor. And he said to her,³ Art thou stronger than all? Thou dost cut off thy hair and gird thyself, and dost thou refuse⁴ to marry? What sayest thou? And Thekla answered him and said to him, I am thine, I am not strong.⁵ My defender is great, and unto him I commit my soul. He will deliver me from the hand of the governors and from everything that I fear. Now, therefore, what sayest thou? And the governor said to her, Let me see then that thou art safe. And she said⁶ to him, As those of old saw, thou shalt see. And the governor said to her, Moreover therefore let me see what⁷ will save her. Go, cast her into the den of lions and bears. And they took her and cast her into the den of bears and lions.⁸ And when they came to the door of the den of bears and lions, she spread out her hands again according to her custom and signed⁹ herself with the sign of the cross, and at its door she signed⁹ in the name of Jesus, Son of God, and *she said*, Now I will go in, since the Holy Spirit helps me. And on account of this she rejoiced. And it seemed to those who brought her that the beasts would devour her. But when the beasts saw her, they rose up and worshiped her, and they began to lick her and to roll at her feet. But she spread out her hands and began to pray. And she said,

My soul praises¹⁰ God who was about the doing of his mercy before the world,¹¹ and who is forever and ever God; who dies not; who made heaven and earth and all that is in them, with a word; who made the sea and all that is in it (Exod. 20:11); who made man in his image and in his likeness (Gen. 1:26). He made me, who believe in his name and in his might and in his wisdom and in his understanding; at whose word it was done; he who commanded and everything was; and he was pleased and everything was created. Although he was God, he became like man, and he was man and was manifested. And although *he was* God, he died, and on the third day he arose that he might make the dead to live and save those who believe on his name; who likewise bowed the heavens¹² and came down (2 Sam. 22:10; Ps. 18:9), and ascended and sat down on the right hand of his Father, having sat *there* before; and

¹ Lit., Have ye none who will help me.

² Or who.

³ Or control.

⁴ And they . . . lions *om.* B.

⁵ Thekla *add.* A.

⁶ Or sealed.

⁷ and thou dost refuse, B.

⁸ Or thanks.

⁹ B; A, I have not sung (or mocked).

¹⁰ Or from eternity.

¹¹ He said, A.

¹² *Om.* A.

he is forever Father and Son and Holy Spirit. He is one, loving man, and he is patient, he is compassionate; who does not make our enemies to rejoice over us. And he has destroyed the flame of fire and blunted the teeth of the lions. To thee belong glory and praise, and to thee *belongs* holiness, to Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

And while Thekla prayed thus, there came one to see whether the beasts had devoured her or she was alive. *For* because they had put her in,¹ this latter governor, the minister of him whom the thunder deafened, was tormented all night and did not know what tormented him. And he said, Go therefore, look for² the bones³ of Thekla; if you can find *them*, we will bury them and be safe from this torment. And when they went to see her, they found her⁴ alive. And they returned to the governor and told him that she was alive. And the governor said to them, Let us go. And when they were come, they said, Praised be God who has saved thee, thy Lord whom thou dost worship, and hast chosen and loved;⁵ for from the time that I sent thee among the lions, behold I have been tormented until now. Come, come forth and pray for me and for the governor⁶ whose ear has been putrefying until now.

And Thekla said to him, Therefore I cannot pray for thee and for the governor, unless ye bring Paul; he shall pray for you. And he said to her, Is he then alive? Have I not heard that they have burned him and cast forth his bones? And she said to him, Yes, me also ye both burned,⁷ and ye cast forth my bones. And they believed and sent to call Paul. And Paul came and prayed for the governor whose ears the thunder deafened, and for the other also, his nearest minister, who was tormented. And both of them lived, by the might of Jesus Christ⁸ for ever and ever. Amen and amen.⁹

¹ he had put her in, B.

⁴ they saw her and found her, B.

² *Lit.*, see.

⁵ who has chosen and loved thee, B.

³ *Lit.*, bone.

⁶ also *add.* B.

⁷ *Om.* B.

⁸ And they both believed on the name of Jesus Christ. So, Lord, heal of disease of soul and body thy servant, Walda Giyörgis, *add.* B; for ever and ever *om.*^m

⁹ And me also, who have written it, thy servant, a sinner and wrongdoer, forgive my sin and bless *add.* B.

^m By Walda Giyörgis (the son of George) the British Museum Catalogue understands the owner of the manuscript.

THE BLESSING OF MOSES: ITS GENESIS AND STRUCTURE.

By HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.,

Rector of Aldingham, Lancashire; Hon. Canon of Carlisle.

It will be best, in deference to certain controversial influences, dominant with many readers, to regard the auto-Mosaic character of Deut., chap. 33, as undecided either way, *pro* or *con*. Thus we may best examine the facts without prepossession. I call attention, therefore, at starting, to the outline of what I am about to argue; distinguishing what are obvious, but overlooked, facts from any inferences or theories regarding them.

1. The form in which this section, the last of Deuteronomy, containing the blessing, is presented, corresponds with the form of presentment in the earlier sections of the book. Thus we read in 33:1, "And this is the blessing," matching "These are the words," in 1:1; "And this is the law," in 4:44, and "These are the words of," etc., in 29:1 (Heb. 28:69).¹ This fact of formulaic commonplace puts it on a level with those earlier sections.

I take, then, vs. 1, "And this is the blessing wherewith Moses . . . blessed the b'ne Israel before his death," as formulaic and titular; and I notice that in this title the blessing is given, not as on the tribes individually, but on "the b'ne Israel" as a collective total. Next, detach for the moment this titular vs. 1, and omit for the present the *dicta* on the individual tribes, which occupy from vs. 6 to vs. 25, so as to read in connection vss. 2-5 and vss. 26-29. It will be seen that these eight verses, read thus, form a well-articulated whole. I shall show, further, *inf.*, reasons for regarding the actual close in vs. 29b, "And thine enemies . . . ; and thou shalt tread upon their high places," as one of the many short, later insertions, no doubt made under adequate authority, which the Pentateuch seems to contain, which also mark it as a living and growing entity—growing, *i. e.*, up to a comparatively late date, when it stood stereotyped.

¹ אֵלֶּה דְּבָרֵי, הִזָּאת הַתּוֹרָה, אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים, הִזָּאת הַבְּרָכָה, are the respective Hebrew phrases here.

2. Further, vss. 2-5, in their number of Hebrew words (41), all but exactly equal vss. 26-29, which, when the last (supposed adventitious) clauses have been removed from vs. 29b, yield 42.³ Supposing Deuteronomy at first inscribed on tablets of clay, similar to those of Tel-el-Amarna, these equal portions would have filled two faces of one tablet of moderate size; the former, vss. 2-5, forming a prelude or introduction of exalted narrative, relating to Yahweh and Moses; and the latter, vss. 26-29, containing the blessing proper. Between these, formerly one coherent whole, the *dicta* on the several tribes appear to have been inserted, perhaps long subsequently to the date or dates of origin of the inserted *dicta*, and to that of the whole, between the parts of which they stand, and which now forms their setting.

3. An important subordinate question relates to the order in which the tribes are arranged. I shall endeavor to show that several distinct lines of evidence concur in pointing to the reign of King Hezekiah as that in which this insertion of the tribal *dicta* between the two halves of the blessing on Israel took place. That reign will be shown to suit the order of the tribes as given here, to square with the most curious fact of all, viz., the omission of Simeon, to be consistent with the doubtful *dictum* on Reuben, and with the very singular prayer on behalf of Judah.

4. It will be observed that the *dictum* on each tribe, except Reuben, the first, is connected with its previous context by some phrase of incorporation; e. g., vs. 7, "And this of Judah, and he said" (where both A. V. and R. V. insert "is the blessing" after "this"); and again, vs. 8, "and of Levi he said," which latter form is then retained to introduce the succeeding several *dicta*, each in turn. The omission of such incorporative phrase before "Reuben," vs. 6, is probably meant to suggest that the whole body of *dicta* which it leads was an *original*, not additional, portion of the blessing on all Israel. By that omission it became possible to read the two in continuity.

5. The duplication of the introductory phrase in vs. 7 for "Judah" is at least as unique and remarkable as the changed standpoint regarding that royal tribe, implied in the total absence of its usual attributes in prophecy, and the tone of humble intercession adopted on its behalf; implying some utter reverse and almost prostration of its fortunes. I shall further attempt to account for *both* of these.

³ In this reckoning words connected by the *maqṣeph* count as one.

6. The assumption on which all the *dicta* proceed, whether actual or ideal, is as though all the tribes had passed in review before the eyes of the departing lawgiver, to receive each a last word at his lips.

I proceed to deal first with the startling fact of the disappearance of Simeon from the tribal array. That tribe some time in the reign of Hezekiah (1 Chron. 4:39-43) made an important conquest in the southern region, and, pushing thence eastward to "Seir," destroyed "the rest of the Amalekites." The standpoint of the blessing (as also of the song in Deut., chap. 32) appears to be that of an Israel whole and unbroken, alike in polity and in worship, and still enjoying an ascendancy, save in the case of Judah, unimpaired, if not wholly unassailed; see the reference to "enemies" in vss. 7, 11, 27. Especially is this standpoint conspicuous in the closing strophe, vss. 26-29. Such a cornucopia of unstinted blessings on Israel as a whole seems inconsistent with the actually checkered fortunes of both branches of the divided monarchy—not to say that that division itself seems inconsistent with the standpoint assumed.

The northern kingdom, as such, was extinguished in the sixth year of Hezekiah, leaving, of course, some scattered local remnants. Previous to that took place the departure of the Simeon tribe (which, we learn, had in part an early territorial incorporation with Judah, Josh. 19:9), to conquer in the southeastern region (1 Chron. 4:34-43). That region lay outside Israel's tribal heritage. We may, without straining the known facts, assume that Simeon had, by that incorporation, been partly absorbed by Judah in the southern kingdom; and that, the remnant of Simeon disappearing into a region forbidden to Israelite occupation (Deut. 2:5), that tribe disappeared from the tribal total, and that the *dictum*, Mosaic or quasi-Mosaic, on the tribe disappeared with it. Thus some early year of Hezekiah's reign alone fits and explains this singular feature. There had been, we may assume, an oracle upon Simeon; but, when these oracles on the several tribes were incorporated in the blessing on the whole, it had vanished, and was irrecoverable. The notices of 2 Chron. 15:9; 34:6 associate some more remote portions of Simeon with Ephraim and Manasseh, as though the former had cast in their lot with the northern kingdom. This further illustrates the non-coherence of the tribe, and shows the note of dispersion as resting upon it throughout.

I proceed to the difficulty in the grouping and sequence of the tribes. And here I refer to the only other marshaling of the tribal units which Deuteronomy contains. In 27:12 *sq.* we find them in two groups. The group of privilege, chosen to "stand on Gerizim to bless," contains Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin, *i. e.* (rejecting Reuben), the other four elder sons by Leah, and then the two by Rachel; see Gen. 29:32-35; 30:17, 18, 22-25; 35:16-18. The opposite group, appointed "to curse," consists of Leah's first and last sons, Reuben and Zebulun, together with the four by the two handmaids, Zebulun being there interposed between their respective pairs. This can be best shown tabularly thus, comparing both the deuteronomic passages with Gen., chap. 49:

	DEUT. 27:12, 13.		DEUT., CHAP. 33.		GEN., CHAP. 49.
Group for blessing on Gerizim	Simeon	Leah's	Reuben, vs. 6		Reuben
	Levi		Judah, vs. 7		Simeon
	Judah		Levi, vs. 8-11		Levi
	Issachar		Benjamin, vs. 12		Judah
	Joseph	Rachel's	Joseph, vs. 13-17		Zebulun
	Benjamin				Issachar
Group for cursing on Ebal	Reuben	Leah's	Zebulun, } vs. 18, 19		Dan
	Gad	Zilpah's	Issachar, }		Gad
	Asher		Gad, vs. 20, 21		Asher
	Zebulun	Leah's	Dan, vs. 22		Naphtali
	Dan	Bilhah's	Naphtali, vs. 23		Joseph
	Naphtali		Asher, vs. 24, 25		Benjamin

In Deut., chap. 33, the first five members include Reuben in the place of primogeniture, while the other four are in the group for blessing of chap. 27. Simeon, one of this favored group, drops out, as we have seen; and the remaining six have the appearance of following roughly an order founded on their territorial distribution around the Sea of Galilee—a northern and a farther-northern group. As regards the first two of these six, although forming a pair, the first-named (departing from the birth-order in Gen. 30:17-20) is, in Deut., chap. 33, Zebulun, even as he is in Gen. 49:13-15. It should be remembered that in Gen., chap. 49, Jacob allots no blessing to his collective progeny, but to each son separately, whereas in Deut., chap. 33, the primary idea is that of a collective blessing:

GEN. 49:28.

These are the twelve tribes . . . ,
and this is it that their father spake
. . . , and blessed them; everyone
according to his blessing he blessed
them.

DEUT. 33:1.

This is the blessing wherewith
Moses . . . blessed *the b'ne Israel*
before his death.

It is obviously possible that, the primary idea in Deut., chap. 33, being collective, the blessing, in that form, may have formed part of the text of Deuteronomy *before* the tribal separate blessings were inserted between its two parts. That those parts cohere is supported by the fact that "He was king in Jeshurun," vs. 5, leads on easily to the 'apostrophe to Jeshurun' in vs. 26. Similarly, whenever the insertion, as supposed, was made, it found an easy point of attachment in the mention of the "tribes of Israel" in the same vs. 5. It seems then that whoever made the insertion and fixed the order in which the *dicta* on the tribes should be inserted had before him both Gen., chap. 49, and Deut., chap. 27. But the next feature to notice is the grouping, especially that of Levi, as placed between Judah and Benjamin. This surely points to a period when the southern kingdom should become the retreat of the Levitical priesthood, Levi here standing, with great stress laid on his duties, privileges, and zeal, and with an emphatic reference to his warlike prowess,⁴ between the two tribal constituents of that kingdom.⁵ Those who accept the statement of the chronicler (2 Chron. 29:5 *sq.*; 30:15-26), that Hezekiah largely restored that priesthood's functions, showed zeal for its purity, and was guardian of its worship, will see how naturally the grouping of Levi between Judah and Benjamin falls in with the tendencies of his reign. And, as the earlier historian of 2 Kings 18:6 and 4 gives a general confirmation to the chronicler by the statement that Hezekiah "kept the commandments which Yahweh commanded Moses," and in particular refers to his "breaking the brazen serpent that Moses had made," we may surely accept the chronicler here without scruple in respect of priesthood and worship.

The only other noteworthy features of the grouping in Deut., chap. 33, are: (1) That "Joseph" stands inclusively for Ephraim

³ So, I think, we may best render יֵשׁוּרֻן בְּאֵל יֵשׁוּרֻן, "There is none like this God, O Jeshurun."

⁴ So we should, I think, understand the word rendered "substance" in the A. V. of vs. 11.

⁵ In 1 Chron. 12:24-29 a similar grouping of these tribes occurs; but there Simeon is included, next to Judah.

and Manasseh (vss. 13-17), although their distinction is not (vs. 17b) wholly merged. This corresponds closely with the attitude ascribed to Joshua toward these tribes (Josh., chap. 16; 17:7-18, especially vs. 10); the more remarkable as Joshua was himself an Ephraimite. Being so close of kin in origin, and occupying territories closely contiguous and not strictly defined (*ibid.*, vs. 9), they would be welded more closely into one by the influence of the northern monarchy; the founder of which, Jeroboam I., was himself of Ephraim, and had received from Solomon "the charge of the *house of Joseph*," i. e., both these central tribes (1 Kings 11:28). Of that monarchy's area "Joseph" thus formed the central block. Thus among the tribes which form that kingdom it naturally takes the first place, although a barren titular precedence is given to "Reuben" over all in Deut. 33:6. (2) That Zebulun and Issachar (vss. 18, 19) form a pair, with Zebulun taking, contrary to order of birth, the first place, reversing also the priority of Deut. 27:12, 13. A lack of energy is the note fixed on Issachar in Gen. 49:14, 15; cf. 30:18-20 for birth-order. Yet Issachar furnished a brief usurping dynasty in the person of Baasha (1 Kings 15:27), of whose vigor and warlike efforts we read (*ibid.*, vss. 16-22); and Jezreel, which has some pretensions to be the capital of the ten tribes, was within the Issachar territory. See also 1 Chron. 12:32, where the "b'ne Issachar" are singled out among the tribes for their political capacity.⁶ Thus the precedence between Zebulun and Issachar fluctuates. But, again, we find in Hezekiah's reign the clue to determine the precedence between them here. In 2 Chron. 30:11 Zebulun is one of the northern tribes which furnish recruits for Hezekiah's great Passover,⁷ solemnized after a strenuous appeal

⁶ "Men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do;" this seems certainly a gleaming from some ancient authority. Why should the chronicler (300-400 B. C.) go out of his way to compliment a tribe whose independence and distinct entity had long since perished?

⁷ It is worth noting that in that very ancient document, the "Song of Deborah," and in the prose narrative which precedes it, Zebulun is paired with Naphtali, as the leaders in patriotic effort and venture, against Jabin and Sisera (Judg. 4:6, 10; 5:18). Issachar also is there, but in a less prominent position (5:15); and to Zebulun seems assigned the chief organization of the whole. Whether we render (5:14b) with A. V., "who handle the pen of the writer," or with R. V., "who handle the marshal's staff," the result is nearly the same. The words there, מַשְׁכֵּי־בַשֶּׁבֶט סָפְרִים, really mean, "who draw or draft (men) by the stick of the writer." The "stick" is that by which names or numbers levied were scratched on a clay tablet; for which compare the Latin *scribere exercitum*. Both versions miss the force of the preposition בְּ prefixed. "Men," not "stick," is the real object, but understood. Cf. Exod. 12:21, "Draw (מַשְׁכֵּי, same verb as here) and take for yourselves sheep," i. e., a smaller number picked from a larger, just as in *delectum habere*. The levied quotas of the

by the pious king; and which actually repair to Jerusalem for the purpose. On the contrary, others of the same tribes, and also of Issachar, are under a ceremonial disability, which relegates them to a lower grade (*ibid.*, vss. 18-20).

And here the subject-matter of the oracle comes in to illustrate the outward grouping. Zebulun is felicitated on its forwardness in enterprise, and Issachar on its stay-at-home character—"Rejoice Zebulun in thy going out; and Issachar, in thy tents" (vs. 18). The prophet then, after distinguishing thus, seems to blend them both in one, somewhat as Ephraim and Manasseh in "Joseph;" and assumes the predictive character: "They shall call the peoples [or perhaps "their peoples"] to the mountain; there shall they offer sacrifices of righteousness;* for they shall suck the plenty of the seas and hidden treasures of the shore." The association of the "mountain" with "sacrifices of righteousness," *i. e.*, such as the law required, seems to point, especially in Deuteronomy, to the one mountain on which sacrifices were acceptable (Deut. 16:5, 6). The seaward outlook, as to a source of wealth, wherewith presumably to furnish the sacrifices, is very remarkable. Josephus speaks of the territory of Issachar as reaching from Carmel to the Jordan (*Antiquities*, V, 1, § 22); but the earlier notices seem rather to indicate that the tribe of Asher overlapped these two tribes shoreward (*Dict. of Bible*, s. v. Asher). Zebulun, however, was to "dwell at the haven of the sea, and be an haven for ships with a border unto Zidon" (Gen. 49:13); and as Asher tended to lose itself in amalgamation with its Zidonian neighbors, the superior enterprise of Zebulun, so closely adjacent, may easily have overflowed into its area. But, to return to the subject of "sacrifices;" the great Passover of Hezekiah offers the only point of contact in history with any of the northern tribes, from the time of their lapse into idolatry, at which such "righteousness" could be realized. And thus, by another thread of connection, we are led back to that memorable reign. When, in a matter of such antiquity and obscurity, lines of evidence thus converge, we can hardly expect more decisive criteria than they furnish. That evidence, however, is not yet exhausted.

tribes concerned are here intended; such as in Judg. 4:6 are actually given; *cf.* also 5:8. It is worth while again referring to the chronicler, according to whom (1 Chron. 12:33) the levy of Zebulun for David was 50,000, a number actually dwarfing the united contingents of Ephraim and Manasseh (vss. 30, 31).

* Only in Ps. 4:6; 51:21 is this phrase elsewhere found.

Unquestionably the disrating of Judah implied in the deploring intercession of vs. 7, 8, is the greatest difficulty in the whole series of *dicta*; although I think it is not greater on the theory of a Mosaic authorship than on that of any later, except that which I am about to suggest. In order to explain it, I turn to the history of Israel-Judah about a century before the accession of Hezekiah. The last recorded event of Amaziah's reign in Judah was the capture and desolation of Jerusalem, including the plundering of the sanctuary itself, by Jehoash of Israel (2 Kings 14:13, 14). All records, sacred and other, must have been for the time at the mercy of the conqueror. He had been provoked by an arrogant challenge shortly before. If he found anything of record extolling Judah's royal claims in the style of Gen. 49:8-12, what more likely than that, exercising a victor's right over the spoils, he should have indignantly destroyed it, as furnishing the motive to the insolence which had defied him? Thus the record of an original *dictum* on Judah may easily have perished, *temp.* Amaziah. What then have we?—A prayer for Judah's rescue in some great stress of calamity. And here the reign of Hezekiah again suggests a clue. Sennacherib on an Assyrian tablet boasts that he shut up Hezekiah of Judah in Jerusalem, "like a bird in a cage." All the outlying dependencies had been lost, and the capital was the forlorn hope of the realm. This was exactly such a crisis as would justify such a humiliating petition. Regarding "Judah" as concentrated in the house of David and in the person of Hezekiah, the prayer, "bring him again to his people," tallies exactly with the facts of isolation, and "let his hands be ample" for him," with those of restraint and dependence. Indeed, the whole petition answers very closely to Hezekiah's own appeal to Isaiah, "Lift up thy prayer for the remnant that is left" (Isa. 37:4), and may probably have been the prophet's actual response to it. The words of so great a prophet in so grave a crisis would naturally be treasured up by king and priest and people.

And here I may notice that there is something which seems to point to a *lacuna* or displacement in the curiously iterative form, "And this of Judah, and he said," found only here. If "this" which once had belonged to "Judah" had really been

⁹ The A. V. "be sufficient" hardly expresses the force of כִּי here. The B. V. seems to follow the LXX, which had, I think, a false text here.

lost, and then a great and popular prophet had uttered publicly a memorable petition for deliverance, memorably vouchsafed, in the greatest moment of crisis in all Judah's history up to that period, we may well accept the probability that what "he said" might easily, under the plenary authority of Isaiah, take the place of what had perished. I therefore prefer to indicate the loss thus: "And this of Judah, . . . , and he said," Isaiah stepping into the place, as believed, of Moses.

The curt and disparaging treatment of Reuben would suit equally well any period of the monarchy from the Jehu-Hazael time (2 Kings 10:32, 33) onward—that is, if the "fewness" of Reuben be taken as representing a contemporaneous fact. The final numbering in Numb., chap. 26, presents no special fewness in Reuben; he is there more numerous than Simeon, or Gad, or even Ephraim (see vs. 7, 14, 18, 37). In 1 Chron. 12:37 the total quota of the trans-Jordanic tribes is 120,000, yielding the very respectable average of 40,000 for each tribe, including Reuben. But the rendering of the text must in our vs. 5, I think, be, "Let Reuben live and not die, *although*¹⁰ his men be few." This would therefore suit the time of Hezekiah, when, after the deportation by Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings 15:29), a mere remnant of Reuben would probably be left. Even earlier yet, the havoc wrought by Hazael (*ibid.*, 13:7) would probably have afflicted Reuben most severely, as the nearest to the Syrian border.

I do not know any commentator or critic who has given due weight to (1) the distinct severalty of every item uttered upon each tribe, and (2) the complete distinctness of separation of these and each of them from the blessing proper on Israel collectively, to which they now are made to lead up. All is rather regarded by recent writers as a continuous blessing, as it were, *en bloc*. It seems far more likely that their severalty is to be viewed as an essential feature, giving us a real clue to the genesis and structure of the whole and of its parts. I see not how it is possible otherwise to account for the absence of Simeon. But suppose them all so many several *dicta*, each in the keeping of the tribe referred to, and that upon Simeon, lost in the loss of that tribe, before the incorporating process, "by the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah," had come to pass; and the explanation is

¹⁰ For ׃ with jussive, or, as here, concessive sense, rendered "though" or "yet" by R. V. or A. V., see Job 8:7; Ps. 99:8; Job 21:14; Ps. 2:6; 37:24; 78:17, 56; 90:10. The usage is chiefly poetical; but cf. Deut. 23:6; Ruth 2:13.

natural and easy. For we know from Prov. 25:1 (that brief but precious record) that the age of Hezekiah was a literary age, the first in the divided monarchy to whose character we have that attestation. His *literati* "copied out" (קִיטְּוּ), lit. "transferred" (i. e., probably from the older tablet record to the scroll form), the remains, or some of them, ascribed to Solomon. Why may they not have been equally sedulous with those ascribed to Moses? A great crash of wreck had then newly come upon the northern kingdom. To rescue a salvage from that wreck, and gather from the dismembered fragments whatever could be saved, was a foremost duty. What so precious as these, believed to be Mosaic, *deposita*—each, we may suppose, in the custody of the patriarchs or elders of its tribe? And what place so fitted to enshrine them in record could be found as that venerable mixture of law-book, exhortation, and history which closed with the blessing of Moses upon Israel?

And one may note here that, although Judah appears thus discredited, and, on the contrary, "Joseph" is extolled and glorified, yet there is no direct ascription of royalty to any tribe. The words in the prelude (vs. 5), "He" (whether Jehovah or Moses) "was king in Jeshurun," seem rather to exclude the idea of royalty from Israel viewed as a whole. This feature seems against our dating the blessing from any period of the monarchy; although I do not regard it as conclusive on the question. I would also note that whether the predictive portions be viewed as genuinely forecasting the future, or as *vaticinia post eventum*, does not affect any of the conclusions pointed at. And further, if the several tribes or their remnants in the days of Hezekiah really believed that they possessed ancient oracles and ascribed them to Moses, whether auto-Mosaic or not, that is sufficient for the above argument. On the other hand, to regard the whole as one connected effusion of a single poet, whether of the tenth, or ninth, or eighth century B. C., seems to me to present insuperable difficulties. The omission of Simeon, for instance, is unaccountable. It could not have been omitted, where Reuben, although contemptuously spoken of, yet finds a place; nor could it, if originally an integral portion, have been subsequently lost.

It only remains to show why the *finale* of the blessing itself in vs. 29 is probably no original part of the composition. This consists of two triads:

And thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee:
And thou shalt tread upon their high places,

is the A. V. here—as good as any. Here I would first notice that in this, which I call *the* blessing proper, there is from vs. 26 onward no clause which ends on a verb.¹¹ The clauses succeed each other in a crowded, massive style in which substantives predominate; and to string on two clauses which have a weaker structure enfeebles the close. Next, “the enemy” is already effectively disposed of in vs. 27; and to recur to “enemies,” as in vs. 29*b*, looks like a rather tame resumption of a finished theme. By concluding with “the sword of thy excellency” we obtain an impressive, if abrupt, close. Jehovah is represented as the “shield” of his people’s defense and their “sword” of supremacy, and we leave off on a thought analogous to that on which in vs. 2 we preluded. The sycophantic homage of cringing enemies (which the phrase “found liars unto thee” conveys) occurs several times in the Psalms (Pss. 18:45; 66:3; 81:16); while Micah and Habakkuk (Mic. 1:3; Hab. 3:19) have each the phrase, “tread upon high places of the earth;” *cf.* also Deut. 32:13, “Ride upon the high places of the earth.” The spirited and even sublime character of the close is made tame by this padding of commonplaces. But that Hezekian or other editors, deficient in poetic feeling, should have culled one phrase from Ps. 66 and another from Micah, and tagged them on, to swell in quantity what they disparage in quality, is a supposition presenting no difficulty whatever.¹² And thus, the proem and the conclusion correspond in length with a curious exactness. They stand thus like the severed brows of a cloven mountain, with the isolated utterances on the several tribes strung, like the links of a suspension bridge, between them.

There are not a few textual corruptions and probable emendations of much interest, especially in the proem, vss. 2–5, which I should like to have added, if space had allowed them. But it must suffice at present to have dwelt on the broader features, and to postpone for the present all verbal *minutiae*.

¹¹ The only clause which seems to end on a verb is the close of vs. 27; but the word *תִּהְיֶה*, there is really an infinitive used as a noun, as in Isa. 14:23, for “havoc” or “destruction,” and so here.

¹² Other critics have noted these closing triads as probably later additions. Indeed, Dillmann, *ad loc.*, following Graf, includes in this censure the previous triad also.

CRAIG'S ASTROLOGICAL-ASTRONOMICAL TEXTS.¹

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON,

The British Museum.

The present volume is one of the series edited by Professors Delitzsch and Haupt which by reason of the excellence of some of the earlier volumes has gained considerable reputation in the Assyriological world. It will be remembered that the first instalment of the series was the *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, edited in four fascicules by Professor Haupt as far back as 1882. This was followed by Dr. Bezold's work on the Achæmenian inscriptions, and another volume by Professor Haupt on the great Nimrod-Epic (Gilgamesh epic) of the Babylonians. In these volumes a number of new texts were given, but Assyriologists were familiar with the great bulk of their contents from the works of Sir Henry Rawlinson and others. The first truly original contribution to the series was the *Alphabetische Verzeichniss* of Assyrian and Akkadian words by Rev. Dr. Strassmaier, which appeared in 1886, and it is only too much to be regretted that the example set by this indefatigable scholar was not followed by the authors and editors of subsequent parts of the series. As an edition of texts carefully edited and translated the excellent work of Professor Zimmern on the Shurpu series deserves special mention. Among the remaining volumes must, of course, be noticed the *Assyrische Wörterbuch* by the principal editor of the series, Professor Delitzsch; of this work only three parts have appeared. This undertaking showed a curious misunderstanding of the position of Assyriology by its author at the time when the publication began (1886), for he did not seem to realize that it was impossible for him to make a complete Assyrian dictionary until either he himself had read all the texts in the British Museum and other institutions, or until other scholars had published them. Owing to his professorial duties at Leipzig he was unable to copy all the texts which he should have consulted, and besides this he had never exhibited any facility in copying or editing texts for the first time. We must, however, give Professor Delitzsch the credit of abandoning his undertaking in 1889, in favor of the more modest and reasonable *Handwörterbuch*, which he has since issued, and which claims

¹ ASTROLOGICAL-ASTRONOMICAL TEXTS, copied from the original tablets in the British Museum and autographed by James A. Craig, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Michigan. Being the XIVth volume of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, herausgegeben von Friedrich Delitzsch und Paul Haupt. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. ix + 95 pp.; 4to. M. 30.

only the position of a vocabulary. From first to last the volumes of the series generally show that the connection of the editors with them is of a peculiarly perfunctory character, and that beyond placing their names on the title-pages they have done little or nothing to direct or control their contributors. Indeed, the evidence derived from the volume before us proves that neither Professor Haupt nor Professor Delitzsch is, by reason of their absence from London, in the position of being able to control the texts of their contributors; but it must be said on their behalf that no previous contributor has done so much to discredit his editors as Professor Craig. The latitude which they complacently allowed him has been very seriously abused. We have no wish to be ungenerous to them or to demand an impossibility, but we cannot entirely remove from the shoulders of the editors the blame for the responsibility of the publication of Professor Craig's volume as a part of the series, because they received very definite warning concerning Professor Craig's want of care and scholarship both from Professor Zimmern and Professor Jensen soon after the publication of his *Religious Texts*.

The names of Professors Delitzsch and Haupt have been before the world for many years, and the sole object of placing Assyriological works in a series edited by them is to give the learned public a guarantee that the works that appear under their editorship are as accurate, both as regards text and translation, as at the time of publication they can reasonably be expected to be. An editor should not only choose his contributors, but he should assist in the selection of the subjects, and the materials, and the method in which they are treated. Professor Craig gives abundant evidence in his volume that he is a beginner in the science of editing texts, but Professors Delitzsch and Haupt, his editors, should, we think, have taken care that he did not make himself an object of distrust to the Assyriological world.

The collection of cuneiform texts which Professor Craig has edited, when complete, consisted of at least seventy tablets, and has for many years past been known to Assyriologists by the name "Illumination of Bel." Now, to the ordinary reader this title suggests nothing, and, beyond telling him that the contents are "astrological-astronomical," Professor Craig supplies no information. In the present stage of Assyriology a great deal more might have been said, and we think that summaries at least of all or part of the tablets of the series ought to have been given. To throw upon the waters a collection of cuneiform texts, as is done in the volume before us, can at most benefit only the few experts who are able to examine Professor Craig's copies with the tablets. But this is not all. We are told in the preface that the series is given "so far as it is certainly known and contained in the British Museum collections;" but this statement betrays gross carelessness on the part of Professor Craig. For, although he has published copies of 146 tablets

and fragments, there still remain in the British Museum no less than 124 tablets and fragments which Dr. Bezold in his *Catalogue* definitely assigns to the series, and beyond doubt in the majority of cases he does so correctly. In the note below¹ we append a list of the documents omitted, chiefly because Professor Craig in his preface asks his critics to "point out any errors they may discover." It will be admitted on all hands that a complete edition of the texts which Professor Craig undertook to publish would have been of the greatest value to students of astrology and astronomy throughout the world, but as the case now stands he has published a very incomplete edition which will block the way of a complete edition for several years. It is a great pity that Professor Craig has missed such a fine opportunity. But, in addition to the fact that his edition of the series is incomplete, the texts which he gives are extremely inaccurately copied. A number of them were published by the late Sir Henry Rawlinson in his *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, and, considering the time when Sir Henry made his copies, it is not surprising that a few mistakes are to be found in them. Now, these Professor Craig should have corrected, but he has not only not done so, but has reprinted the mistakes and added others of his own to them. As a proof of this we cite the following passages: Rawlinson (Vol. III, pl. 53, No. 1, obv. l. 6) and Professor Craig (pl. 36) both give na, but we should clearly read ina ud; and in l. 8 both read na for ina tmi. As proof that Professor Craig makes mistakes where Rawlinson did not we quote the following passages: Rawlinson, Vol. III, pl. 53, obv. l. 8, correctly gives gil, but Craig (pl. 36) wrongly za-kan; l. 18, Rawlinson correctly gives mesh ma, but Craig wrongly me la; l. 20, Rawlinson correctly gives gal, but Craig has invented a character; l. 26, Rawlinson correctly gives mul nim, but Craig wrongly mul an nim; rev., ll. 50, 51, 54, and 55, Rawlinson correctly gives kur, which is on the edge of the tablet, but Craig omits it entirely; l. 50, Craig omits the first ar, which is correctly given by Rawlinson. All the above mistakes occur in a single text, which is very clearly written. Taking another text (Rawlinson, *ibid.*, pl. 52, No. 2), Craig in obv. l. 14 incorporates the gloss SI into his text! In l. 14 the last character is ig, as given by Rawlinson, but Craig reads KHU; in l. 16 Craig entirely omits the words i-ziz šamaššammu, which Rawlinson correctly gives, etc. These mistakes are due either to gross carelessness or entire inability to read the most clearly written tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, and











According to collection the Kouyunjik Collection, No. 2, 54, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.















to the series of 117 astro forecasts.









not one of which are...
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editing the texts in the volume might be excused, but that they should approve Professor Craig's preface, in the form in which it is here printed, is altogether reprehensible.

The following is a list of some of the most necessary corrections to be made in Plates 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 27-33, 36-40, 43, 44, 46, 49, 51, 54-58a, 60, 63, 64, 69, 70-72, 75, 83, 85, 86, 88, 89, 93, 94 of Professor Craig's *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*:





K. 6051.
 l. 10 for   read  
 l. 12 „  „ 
 l. 15 „  „ 
 l. 20 „  „ 



K. 2068. Obverse.
 l. 1 for  read 
 l. 13 „  „ 
 l. 19 „  „ 
 l. 29 „  „ 
 l. 38 „  „ 
 l. 41 „  „ 
 l. 42 „  „ 











Reverse.
 l. 16 for  read 
 l. 18 „  „ 
 l. 20 „  „ 
 l. 36 „  „ 







K. 2066. Obverse.
 l. 32 for   read  



K. 11094.
 l. 17 for  read 











K. 158. Reverse.
 l. 9 for second  read 
 l. 11 „  „ 







81-2-4, 206. Obverse.
 l. 5   is a gloss.

























K. 2236. Obverse.
 l. 2 for    read  
 l. 6   is not now visible:
 only  is there.
 l. 9 for  read 

















Reverse.
 l. 9 for  read 
 l. 10 „  „ 
 l. 12 „  „ 



K. 2686. Obverse.
 l. 6 for  read 

Rm. 599. Obverse.
 l. 18 for  read 
 l. 18 „  „ 
 l. 19 „  „ 
 l. 23 „  „ 
 l. 30 „  „ 

K. 6490. Obverse.
 l. 2 for  read 
 l. 4 „  „ 
 l. 6 „  „ 

K. 2874. Obverse.
 l. 4 for   read  
 l. 5 „   „  
 l. 6 „   „  
 l. 12 „   „  
 l. 13 „   „  
 l. 14 „  „ 
 l. 17 „  „ 

K. 4292. Obverse.
 l. 3A for  read 
 l. 8 „   „  
 l. 11 „  „ 
 l. 11 „   „  
 l. 19 „  „ 
 l. 20 „  „ 

Rm. 105. Reverse.
 l. 1 for  read 

l. 7 for 𐤀𐤍 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 7 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

l. 9 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 14 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

K. 1551. Reverse.

l. 2 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

K. 3547. Obverse.

l. 5 for 𐤀 read 𐤀

ll. 8-10 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀 in all three cases.

l. 18 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 21 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 24 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 28 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

K. 2330. Obverse.

ll. 5-14 no brackets necessary.

l. 14 𐤀𐤍𐤀 is a gloss.

l. 14 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read traces of 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 25 " 𐤀 read 𐤀

K. 2169. Obverse.

ll. 9-20 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀 in all cases.

K. 2321. Obverse.

l. 3 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 7 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

Reverse.

l. 6 for 𐤀 read 𐤀

l. 10 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

K. 2326. Obverse.

l. 13 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀 ; why "sic" to 𐤀𐤍𐤀 ?

Reverse.

l. 3 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 4 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

l. 5 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 7 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 10 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 10 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

l. 16 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 16 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 17 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

Rm. 2, 116. Obverse.

l. 6 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

" 𐤀 " 𐤀 *i.e.*, 𐤀

ll. 7-9 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 11 for the group between 𐤀 and 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀 (fairly plain).

l. 12 for 𐤀 read 𐤀

Reverse.

l. 4 for 𐤀 read 𐤀

l. 7 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 8 " the first group as far as 𐤀

read 𐤀 - 𐤀 𐤀

l. 9 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 12 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

l. 12 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

l. 12 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 15 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

S. 2189. Obverse.

l. 4 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 8 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 15 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀

Reverse.

l. 4 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read most probably 𐤀

l. 7 " 𐤀 read 𐤀

l. 14 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

l. 18 " for the group between 𐤀 and 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

K. 68. Obverse.

ll. 4, 5 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 12 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

K. 129. Obverse.

l. 1 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 6 " 𐤀 " 𐤀

K. 2227. Obverse.

l. 2 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 19 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀










l. 22 " 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

Reverse.

l. 1 for 𐤀𐤍𐤀 read 𐤀𐤍𐤀

l. 13 " 𐤀 " 𐤀




K. 3002. Obverse.

- l. 9 for  read 
 l. 10 „  „ 
 l. 17 for    read  











Reverse.

- l. 4 for  read 









79-7-8, 179, "B."

- l. 1 for  read 
 l. 21 „  „ 
 l. 22 „  „ 
 l. 25 „  „ 













"C."

- l. 2 for  read 
 l. 2 „  „ 
 l. 5 for  „  and
passim.
 l. 12 for  read 
 l. 14 „  „ 







"D."

- l. 11 for   read  
 l. 14 „  „ 
 l. 15 „  „ 





K. 2207. Obverse.

- l. 8 for  read 
 l. 11 „  „ 
 l. 12 „  „ 
 l. 18 „  „ 
 l. 21 „  „ 
 l. 25 „  „ 

K. 3609. Obverse.

- l. 7 for   read  
 l. 14 „  „ 

Reverse.

- l. 15 for  read 
 ll. 17, 18 for  „ 









K. 3601. Obverse.

- l. 13 for  read 

Reverse.

- l. 7 for  read 
 l. 13 „  „ 





K. 6982. Obverse.

- l. 1 for  read 
 l. 6 „  „ 
 l. 8 „  „ 
 l. 9 „  „ 







Reverse.

- l. 9 for second  read 











Rm. 146, Col. III.

- l. 13 for  read traces of 
 l. 16 „  read 
















Col. IV.

- l. 5 for  read 
 l. 5 „  „ 
 l. 14 „  „ 












K. 1350.

- l. 9 for  read 
 l. 15 „  „ 
 l. 28 „  „ 
 l. 29 „  „ 
 l. 30 „  „ 












Rm. 103. Obverse.

- l. 2 for  read 
 l. 6 „  „ 
 l. 7 „  „ 
 l. 16 „  „ 
 l. 21 „    read
   

Rm. 103. Reverse.











- l. 12, 13 for   read 
 l. 14 for  „ 
 l. 14 „  „ 
 l. 38 „  „ 
 l. 41 „ the sign after  read 

K. 2907. Obverse.


- l. 1 for  read 
 l. 4 „  „ 
 l. 10 two lines have been fused together.
 l. 17 for   read 
 l. 18 „  „ 
 l. 20 „  „ 

l. 21 for   etc., read
   

Reverse.

l. 1 for  read 
l. 4 "  " 
l. 6 " the second  read 
l. 6 "  " 
l. 36 "  " 

K. 7838. Col. I. Obverse.





l. 6 for  read 
l. 8 "  " 

Col. II.







l. 10 for  read 
l. 11 "  " 

Characters wrongly divided.











K. 2066. Obverse.

l. 30 for   read  

K. 2874. Reverse.



l. 7 for   read  
l. 9 "  " 

K. 4292. Obverse.

l. 6 for   read  
l. 8 "  " 
l. 18 "   "  

K. 2326. Obverse.





l. 24 for  read 

In several places of the reverse
read  for 

K. 68. Obverse.

l. 13 for   read  

K. 129. Obverse.





l. 13 for   read  
79-7-8, 179, "D."

l. 9 for  read 

K. 3609. Reverse.

l. 9 for  read 

K. 6982. Obverse.

l. 7 for  read 
l. 14 "  " 





Rm. 146. Col. III.

l. 16 for  read 





K. 2907. Reverse.


l. 6 for   read 





K. 7838. Col. I.




l. 16 for   read  




Omissions.





K. 2068. Reverse.—l. 3 omission
of   between  and






81-2-4, 206. Obverse.—l. 1 no
break represented at beginning,
doubtless to be restored 





Reverse.—l. 19 omission of   between  and 




K. 2686. Obverse.—l. 7 omission
of  between  and 




Rm. 599. Obverse.—l. 23 omission
of  between  and 





l. 30 omission of   be-
tween  and 


Reverse.—l. 5 omission of   between  and 





K. 6490. Reverse.—l. 9 omission
of   between  and





K. 2874. Obverse.—ll. 2, 3
omission of   
in blank gaps.




l. 10 omission of  between
 and 





l. 18 omission of   between
 and 









K. 4292. Reverse.—ll. 9, 10, 13,
14 small  omitted at beginning
of line.

l. 9 omission of   be-
tween  and 

K. 1551. Reverse.—l. 6 omission
of  between  and 

K. 3547. Obverse.—l. 7 omission
of  between  and 

l. 11 omission of   between
 and 

K. 2330. Obverse.—l. 17 omission
of       be-
tween  and 

K. 2169. Reverse.—l. 5 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow \Delta-\Pi - \Delta-\Pi \rightarrow\Pi\uparrow \Delta-\Pi$ between \uparrow and $\rightarrow\Pi-$

K. 2321. Obverse.—l. 11 omission of \angle between $\uparrow-$ and $\uparrow\uparrow$

Reverse.—l. 18 omission of $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ before $\rightarrow\Pi$

K. 2326. Obverse.—l. 2 omission of Δ between $\rightarrow\Pi$ and Δ

Reverse.—l. 17 omission of $\rightarrow\Pi\Delta\uparrow$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\Pi$

S. 2189. Reverse.—l. 18 omission of \square between $\rightarrow\uparrow$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow$

l. 18 omission of \rightarrow between Δ and $\rightarrow\rightarrow$

K. 68. Obverse.—l. 12 omission of $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ between Δ and \rightarrow

K. 2227. Obverse.—l. 2 omission of \uparrow between $\rightarrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow$

l. 11 omission of $\Delta\uparrow$ between $\Delta\uparrow$ and $\rightarrow\Pi$

Reverse.—l. 6 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow-$ between $\rightarrow\rightarrow$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow$

l. 7 omission of \rightarrow between $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ and $\rightarrow\Pi$

79-7-8, 179. Col. "a." Top line omitted $\rightarrow\Delta\uparrow \rightarrow\Pi \rightarrow\Pi$

l. 29 omission of $\Delta-\Pi$ between \rightarrow and $\rightarrow\Delta$

79-7-8, 179. Col. "c."—l. 6 omission of $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ between $\rightarrow\Pi$ and $\rightarrow\Pi$

Col. "d."—l. 7 omission of $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ between $\rightarrow\Pi$ and first $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$

K. 2207. Obverse.—l. 7 omission of $\Delta\uparrow$ between $\rightarrow\Pi$ and $\rightarrow\rightarrow$

K. 3601. Reverse. l. 6 omission of $\rightarrow\Delta$ at end of line.

l. 16 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow$

K. 1350.—l. 10 omission of \uparrow between $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ and $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$

Rm. 103. Obverse.—l. 19 omission of \uparrow between $\rightarrow\Pi$ and $\rightarrow\rightarrow$

K. 2907. Reverse.—l. 11 has been left out entirely.

K. 7838. Obverse. Col. I.—l. 8 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow-$ between $\Delta\uparrow$ and $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$

l. 8 omission of \rightarrow between $\rightarrow\uparrow$ and $\rightarrow\Pi$

l. 11 omission of \rightarrow between $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow$

l. 17 omission of $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$

Col. II.—l. 5 omission of $\Delta\uparrow$ between \rightarrow and $\rightarrow\rightarrow$

l. 13 omission of $\rightarrow\Pi$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow$ and Δ

Reverse. Col. IV.—l. 7 omission of $\Delta\uparrow$ between $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ and $\Delta\uparrow$

l. 10 omission of \rightarrow between $\rightarrow\rightarrow$ and $\rightarrow\Pi$

l. 18 omission of \rightarrow between $\rightarrow\Pi$ and \rightarrow

Redundancies.

K. 2236. Obverse.—l. 15 \angle not on tablet.

Reverse.—l. 7 second $\rightarrow\uparrow$ not on tablet.

K. 2874. Reverse.—l. 10 second $\rightarrow\uparrow$ not on tablet.

K. 4292. Obverse.—l. 26 first $\rightarrow\uparrow$ not on tablet.

K. 3547. Obverse.—ll. 17, 18 first \rightarrow not on tablet.

K. 2207. Obverse.—l. 17 $\rightarrow\Pi$ not on tablet.

K. 7838. Obverse. Col. I.—l. 6 $\rightarrow\uparrow-$ not on tablet.

Col. II.—l. 20 second $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ not on tablet.

Breaks not represented.

K. 158. Obverse.—No break at top of tablet.

81-2-4, 206. Obverse.—No break represented at beginning of l. 1, doubtless to be restored [\uparrow].

Rm. 105. Reverse.—No break at top.

K. 2321. Reverse, l. 18.—No break between $\rightarrow\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow$ and $\rightarrow\Pi$

K. 6982. Obverse, 1-6.—No break at beginning of line.

Book Notices.

SOCIN'S ARABIC GRAMMAR.¹

Socin's grammar has been steadily enlarged and improved in successive issues, so that it is now an admirable introduction to the study of Arabic, and is pleasant reading also for the advanced student. The present edition does not differ materially from the third; only such changes have been introduced as were needed to adapt it to the reading of Brünnow's *Chrestomathy* (except the Ajurrumiya). The work fills a gap in our grammatical literature, and has been received with great favor, as the number of editions shows. Perhaps the author, in his effort to be brief, sometimes compresses into a sentence more than is desirable; the beginner needs simple and easily grasped statements. In this respect the Syntax is better than the Morphology; the substance of the latest editions of Caspari (Müller's or Wright's) is brought into agreeably small compass, and Caspari's portentous sentences are reduced to intelligible form. The large apparatus for translation into Arabic is retained; and for the benefit of pupils and teachers in such translation a key to the exercises has been prepared (*Schlüssel zum Übersetzen der in A. Socins Arabischer Grammatik enthaltenen deutschen Übungsstücke*, published separately by Reuther & Reichard, at M. 1.50).

The author very properly declines to reproduce the Arabic grammatical terminology; this may be done in large grammars, but would be out of place in an elementary book. Even in the great grammars it would be better to adopt the modern terminology (retaining, of course, the Arabic conceptions in accordance with the genius of the language), and to explain the native terms in notes or in an appendix. It is not easy to make these terms real for a beginner; thus, Socin seems not to make clear the syntactical significance of the distinction between verbal and nominal sentences, and the student might understand it better if it were put differently. In a few smaller points I should prefer statements different from those made by Socin: *wa* (و) in the sense of "with" (p. 97) should be treated as a preposition, and this meaning should be referred to the primary signification of the stem; the logical force of *fa* (ف) should be mentioned (p. 123); and, in passing, the use of *siwā* (سوى), as = "other," should be added on p. 111. There is, however,

¹ PORTA LINGUARUM ORIENTALIUM, edidit Herm. L. Strack. Pars IV, Arabische Grammatik — Paradigmen, Litteratur, Übungsstücke und Glossar. Von Dr. A. Socin, Ord. Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Vierte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; New York: Lemcke & Buechner, 1899. xiii + 169, 156* pp.; small 16mo. M. 6; bound, 6.80.

another usage, common in our Arabic grammars (and adopted by Socin), which is more serious; I mean the employment of the terms "tense" and "mode" (or "mood"). Every teacher knows how hard it is to make beginners comprehend that the element of time does not enter into old Semitic verb-forms; and the task is made harder by the use of the word "tense," which, to the man trained in Latin and Greek, inevitably conveys the notion of time. A number of terms have been proposed as substitutes for "tense;" whether or not we adopt some one of these, it is well to avoid "tense." The trouble with "mode" is even greater. Socin calls the imperfect in *u* "indicative" (p. 89), yet a few lines farther on gives an example in which this form is used in the expression of purpose—a use that the Aryan student will find it hard to reconcile with his notion of the "indicative mood." The imperfect in *a* is called "subjunctive" (p. 90), that is, the form which expresses a mere conception, but it appears (p. 91) that after the negative *lan* it is a pure indicative. The imperfect in *jezma*, called the "apocopated mood" (p. 91), is used to express a command, but, after the negative *lam*, it is suddenly transformed into a simple aorist of the past. We have the same sort of incongruity here that used to exist in the Semitic grammars when they called the perfect the "preterite" and the imperfect the "future." It is better to say at the beginning that Arabic grammar does not know our idea of "mood."

C. H. TOY.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

KERN ON AN ARABIC TRANSLATION OF MOLIÈRE'S FEMMES SAVANTES.¹

Some little time ago I wrote a notice in this JOURNAL² of an edition of Muḥammad 'Osmān Galāl's *Madraset el-azwāg*—a free rendering into Egyptian Arabic of Molière's *L'école des maris*—in transcription and translation by Dr. Sobernheim, a graduate of the Berlin Oriental Seminary. The excellent traditions of that institution are carried on in the present book. Dr. Kern's work is even more thorough and conscientious than was that of his predecessor and may safely be commended to those who are studying modern Arabic.

It is needless to repeat what I said before, in reviewing Dr. Sobernheim's book, on this new movement in Arabic literature. As Dr. Kern puts it, the merit of Muḥammad 'Osmān Galāl consists in his being the first to use the written colloquial speech—not classical Arabic in any of its shades of perfection and popular unintelligibility—to bring the products of European civilization and literature home to the common people. Others had for long written poetry in the colloquial idioms; one of the first to do so had been Ibn Guzmān, the wandering Spanish

¹ *INNISA'U-L-'ALIMAT VON MUḤAMMAD BEY 'OSMĀN GALĀL*. Neuarabische Bearbeitung von Molière's *Femmes Savantes*, transcribiert, übersetzt, eingeleitet und mit einem Glossar versehen. Von Friedrich Kern, Dr. phil. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1898. 154 pp.

² Vol. XIII, pp. 318-15.

singer, who died in the middle of the sixth century of the Hijra; but M. O. G., for so he chooses to call himself, first applied it to translations and plays. It is with regret that we learn from Dr. Kern that the author has not met with the success that he deserves. Sentimental tragedy in classical garb holds the Egyptian stage against the humor of Molière.

A word on Dr. Kern's method. He is fuller and more complete than Dr. Sobernheim. His treatment of the principles underlying his transcription, of the meter, of pronunciation, and of the different methods of recitation is detailed and careful. His vocabulary and notes are also fuller. The Hebraist will find in them points worth his notice. See, for example, *dtn* and its bearing on Socin's explanation of *yādhōn* in Gen. 6:3. Generally, the book gives the impression of ripe scholarship. But it must not be thought that it has interest only for the Arabic scholar or for the student of modern Egyptian. That Molière can be adapted to Egyptian life shows how great a dramatist he was, bounded by no horizon—which everyone knew. But how it has been done is a study to be commended to the student of comparative literature; such will find material here.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

HARTFORD, CONN.

STUDENT'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.¹

In these days, which have furnished so much work of a thoroughly scientific character in the field of Hebrew grammar, it is surprising that a book so lacking in scientific character, even though intended for beginners, can find publication or adoption. This book exhibits the same lack of scientific spirit which is to be found in nine out of ten Hebrew grammars prepared by Jewish rabbis for teaching Hebrew. It is not a sufficient excuse that such books are intended for practical use. Experience in the teaching of Latin and Greek grammar is surely enough to warrant the assertion that a grammar may be at the same time practical and scientific. Here the distinction must be made between that which is technical and that which is scientific. It is not necessary to be technical in order to be scientific. The grammar under consideration is neither technical nor scientific. It is equally clear that it is not practical.

The author (p. 4) makes no account of the distinction between vowels naturally long (*i. e.*, by contraction, or for nominal formation) and vowels tone-long (*i. e.*, long on account of proximity to the tone). This distinction lies at the basis of any practical or scientific treatment of vowel-changes. And consequently the article on changes in vowels (p. 13) is utterly devoid of any really true philological principles. The old statement of hireq arising out of two š*was at the beginning of a word is a fair example. The general word "altered" is the only word used to designate

¹ STUDENT'S HEBREW GRAMMAR, with Exercises and Vocabularies. By Michael Adler, B.A., Minister of the Hammersmith and West Kensington Synagogue, and Senior Hebrew Master at the Jews' Free School, London. London: David Nutt, 1900. viii + 196 pp.; 12mo.

vowel-changes, the ordinary word "shortening" being absent, not to speak of such words as "deflection," "obscuration," "heightening," which have now become common words in grammatical vocabulary.

The relative pronoun $\cdot\text{שׁ}$, שׁ is given as a contraction of $\text{שׁ}\text{אֵל}$, a view long since abandoned. The meager statement is made (p. 22) in connection with the pointing of the inseparable prepositions: "the vowel ֿ is frequently used," without any explanation of the fact. The pointing of לֵּ in לֵּאמֹר is simply cited as peculiar, no light of any kind being suggested. This is not practical, for a beginner should be taught principles; nor is it scientific, since it furnishes no explanation.

The chief characteristic of the segholate is said to be "that the absolute state of the plural has the vowels ֿ and ֿ ." Could anything be more absurd? A fine example of logical arrangement is the treatment under one head (pp. 56, 57) of the הֵן interrogative, the הֵןֿ directive, and the vocative use of the definite article $\cdot\text{הֵן}$. The הֵן of the Niph'al is said to be omitted in the future, etc., and a Dāghēsh added; the term "assimilation" does not appear to have been known. Likewise, in connection with the הֵןֿ verb (p. 124) it is said: "Whenever this הֵןֿ is omitted, a Doghesh is placed in the next letter." The Hōph'al is said to have ֿ , but no explanation of the fact is hinted at.

Most faulty, however, is the treatment accorded the עֵ and יֵ verbs. Instead of furnishing the pupil at least a modicum of information in the way of assistance, the space (twelve or fifteen lines) is occupied with such misleading statements as this: "The ֿ added (!) in the Hiph. in other verbs is not found in this class" (p. 128). A strange and entirely erroneous distinction is made (p. 132) between פֿ guttural and אֵפֿ verbs by which אָפֿ , imperfect אָפֿ (also אָפֿ , אָפֿ), is treated as אֵפֿ . The pupil is taught that this is the typical אֵפֿ verb, while אָפֿ , imperfect אָפֿ , and the others like it, are special and exceptional. The time ought soon to come when, even in Jewish circles, such grammars would not be called for.

W. R. HARPER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

SCHULTHESS' HOMONYME WURZELN IM SYRISCHEN.¹

This is a thoughtful and suggestive contribution toward the elucidation of some difficult questions of Semitic lexicography. Homonymous roots are especially common in such languages as have been compelled to denote more than one original, or current, sound by means of one alphabetic sign. Schulthess thinks that Syriac, because of the state and treatment of its sounds, is the best language to start from in the consideration of Semitic homonyms. The Edessan dialect of the Syriac especially, because of its fixed orthography, its freedom from foreign

¹ HOMONYME WURZELN IM SYRISCHEN. Ein Beitrag zur semitischen Lexicographie. Von Friedrich Schulthess. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1900. xii + 104 pp. M. 4.

admixtures, and the numerous extant manuscripts of extreme antiquity, gives us a correct view of what the ancient Syriac really was.

As it is Schulthess' intention to treat merely of roots which have not been distinguished clearly, or at all, in the dictionaries, there are only forty-nine homonyms discussed in this treatise. As the necessities of the case demand, the illustrations and analogies are mostly from the Arabic. The conditions under which homonyms arise are divided by the author into eight classes. These are those arising from (1) regular consonantal changes, such as ܕ for ܕ and ܕ, ܬ for ܬ and ܬ, and ܡ for ܡ and ܡ; (2) the changes of various sounds to one, such as ܬ from ܬ, ܬ, and ܬ; (3) intra-Syriac confounding of what were originally different roots, such as ܕ from ܕ and ܕ; (4) metathesis, such as ܕܬܪܐ into ܕܬܪܐ (ܬܪܐ); (5) confounding of secondary stems with simple, such as ܕܬܪܐ from ܕܬܪܐ with the same form from ܕܬܪܐ, and ܕܬܪܐ = ܕܬܪܐ with the Shaphel of ܕܬܪܐ; (6) accidental homophony of onomatopoeic roots, such as ܕܬܪܐ "to tinkle" with ܕܬܪܐ "to sift;" (7) attraction of one root to another because of like meaning, such as ܕܬܪܐ = ܕܬܪܐ and ܕܬܪܐ [the examples under this rule would simply make (7) a division under rule (1)]; (8) foreign words being adopted and treated as if from genuine Syriac roots, such as ܕܬܪܐ and ܕܬܪܐ.

We add the following notes: On p. 17, in the phrase ܕܬܪܐ, read ܕܬܪܐ. Compare ܕܬܪܐ *defluxit*, and ܕܬܪܐ *hebetavit*, the latter of which is used with ܕܬܪܐ in an example cited by Payne Smith in his *Thesaurus*. So, perhaps, in Hab. 3:6 ܕܬܪܐ should be read instead of ܕܬܪܐ.

On p. 30, may not the ܕܬܪܐ of Elias of Nisibis be connected with ܕܬܪܐ "to be ashamed," and the ܕܬܪܐ of Tat. Act. Mart. with ܕܬܪܐ "to possess with a devil"? ܕܬܪܐ ܕܬܪܐ ܕܬܪܐ would then mean, "Those possessed with devils were divided into troops."

The ܕܬܪܐ "whirlwind" of p. 44 is probably connected with ܕܬܪܐ "to go quickly." May not ܕܬܪܐ, p. 72, be connected with ܕܬܪܐ "to break"? ܕܬܪܐ "declivity," p. 79, may possibly be from the same root as ܕܬܪܐ "the extremity of a desert, or of land." There is little doubt that ܕܬܪܐ "frech, begehrllich," p. 79, should be compared with the Arab. ܕܬܪܐ "to be bold." With ܕܬܪܐ compare ܕܬܪܐ "the roof of a house which projects." Why not connect ܕܬܪܐ "dryness, burning air" with ܕܬܪܐ "to be or become thirsty," ܕܬܪܐ "thirst, vehemence of heat"?

On the analogy of the Arabic, we cannot see why there cannot be in Syriac three roots of corresponding meanings: **ف**, **ه**, and **هه**. (Compare **فج**, **هجو**, and **هجر**.) **هه** "glänzen" may be compared with **فَرَق** and **فرقان** "dawn," or by metathesis with **هجر**. **هه** "barley" may be from a root of the same meaning as **فرخ** "to sprout." **هه** "pullet" is apparently the same as the Arab. **فروج**, though **فرخ** also means "the young one of a bird." In denying that **هه** means "ergötzen" the author fails to note that **تفرج** in Arabic means "to amuse oneself." "Amusing stories" is a very good translation of **هه**.

The Beirut dictionary makes **هه** mean **وطى** "to trample." If this definition is correct, there is an evident equivalent in **هه** "to oppress, to injure." The **هه** of Deut. 22:8 is a translation of the Hebr. **מַעֲקוֹ**, which the LXX translated by **στεφάνην**, in the sense of the Arab. **تاج** "breastwork." The author has given enough of examples (on pp. 15, 16, and 35) showing that *g* and *k* are frequently interchanged to justify the possible connection of **هه** with **تاج**.

R. D. WILSON.

PRINCETON, N. J.

JENSEN'S ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN MYTHS AND EPIC POEMS.¹

It gives us great pleasure to call attention to Professor Jensen's excellent edition of the "Assyrio-Babylonian Myths and Epic Poems" in transliteration, translation, and commentary. The addition of the commentary is a most welcome change of the plan of the editor and the publishers of the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. After a short preface of great interest to the Assyriologist, in which the author explains his method of work and defines his position toward his predecessors, he gives in twelve sections all the Babylonian myths and epic poems thus far known, viz.: the creation-account (pp. 2-43); the story of Bēl and LāB-bu² (pp. 44-7); of Zū, the storm-bird (pp. 47-57); the I(U)ra (or Dibbara)-myth (pp. 57-73); the legend of Nergal and Ereškigal³

¹ ASSYRISCH-BABYLONISCHE MYTHEN UND EPIKEN. Von P. Jensen. 1. Hälfte (= *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. In Verbindung mit L. Abel, C. Bezold, P. Jensen, F. E. Peiser, H. Winckler herausgegeben von Eberhard Schrader. VI. Band: "Mythologische, religiöse und verwandte Texte." 1. Teil.) Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1900. xx+320 pp. M. 13.

² Read lab-bu by the author and explained as "lion." Others read kal-bu "dog," and again others, especially Zimmern, rib-bu = Hebr. **רִיבְיָ**. See labbu, 1, in *Concise Dictionary*, p. 466, col. 2.

³ So read also in IV, 31 a 24 (the descent of Ištar), instead of Nin-ki-gal. See Jensen, p. 82, rm. 1.

(pp. 74-9); the descent of Ištar to the nether-world (pp. 80-91); Adapa and the south wind (pp. 92-100); the Etana-myth (pp. 101-15); the Gilgamesh (Nimrod)-epic (pp. 116-273); Ea and Atrahasis(?) (pp. 274-90); the king of Kūthā (pp. 291-8); Appendix (pp. 298-301). With p. 302 begins the "Commentary," which will cover the whole of the second half of this Part I. A more extended review can, therefore, be published only after this commentary is published; our present aim is to call the attention, to this important publication, of all students of the Old Testament and comparative religion. The arrangement of the texts is much better than found in any previous collection of these myths and epic poems. The new translations proposed for some of the most difficult passages are striking and, in most cases, convincing even without further comment. Thus, to mention a few, p. 26, 92 (end), u-ša'-lu šu-nu (iḡu) kakkē-šu[-un] "they 'charm' their weapons;" p. 118, col. ii, 1 (and p. 204, 16), šit-tin(ta)-šu ilu-ma šul-lul-ta-šu a-me-lu-ta "two(thirds) he is a god, and one-third he is human(ity)." Especially noteworthy is the author's translation of the account of the deluge, l. 135, ki-ma u-ri mit-ḡu-rat u-s(š)al-lu "As soon as daylight came, I prayed." It is rather a surprise to notice that Jensen returns to the old reading and translation in l. 13 of the deluge account: "This city la-bir (was old)," instead of Zimmern's lā bīr "was corrupt;" l. 141 he reads i-te-mid (instead of -ziz); l. 215 (cf. l. 229) he reads li(-)ik-ḡil-ta-a "es schrecke auf der Mensch" ("let the man start up with fright"), instead of the usual li-ik-rim ta-a. P. 258, col. ii, 20, ša sal-lat (instead of ḡal-mat); the p(b)u-ri š(s)ap-pa-ti and p(b)u-ur šik-ka-ti (*ibid.*, ll. 1 and 22) are translated: "die Schale einer Büchse," and "die Schale einer Dose;" p. 260, 29, ūma p(b)u-uk-ka "am Tage, da mich ein Fangnetz," instead of tam-bu-uk-ku, explained usually as a certain kind of flies (II R. 5 a-b 26, 27; Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 708, col. 2); 262, 23, lu-man tak-ka-ab(p) "alsbald das Loch (der Erde)," instead of lu-niṣ tak-ka-ab or lu niṣ-tak-ka-ap(b); *ibid.*, iv, 8, kal ma-tu "the whole country," instead of kal-ma-tu.

Almost simultaneously with Jensen's book was published in *ZA.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 277-92, an article by H. Zimmern, "Neue Stücke des Atrahasis-Mythus nachgewiesen," in which are given transliteration and translation of the same legend that is published by Jensen as "Ea(?) und Atrahasis(?)" (pp. 274 *sqq.*). It is most interesting to note how closely both agree in transliteration and translation, aside from these few divergences: col. i, 39, J(ensen): ni-šu i-na šu-ut(-)k(ḡ)e-e[-zī], Z(immern): ni-šu i-na šu-par-ki[-e naṣiṣti]; ii, 59, J.: me-iṭ(ṡ; d)-ra-tu(-) šu(-)p(b)aḡ(k, g)-rat, Z.: me-iṭ-ra-tu šu-ḡu-rat; iii, 32, J.: BAR ṣi-šu, Z.: par-ṣi-šu "sein Gebot;" 35, ŠU-kat ra-ba-ma, Z.: -šu ḡit-ra-ba-ma; iv, 7 (end), J.: lu-te-ši, Z.: tap-te-ši (√petū); 8, J.: is]-si-ma er-še-ti mu-te-ti, "dann rief sie: Frauen, Gattinnen," Z.: eṣ-r]a-ma, etc. = "sie bildete weiblich und männlich." On iv, 6, i-na be-ru-šu-nu i-ta-di libittu (also l. 15), see Spiegelberg's important article, "On Exodus 1:16," in *ZA.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 269-76.

Proofreading, press-work, and printing are exceedingly well done. Only a few errors have been noticed; e. g., p. 26, l. 90, itt instead of it; 168, 38 (end), -sa for -ša; 171, 68, *meine* for *deine*(?); 176, 174, i-ḫi-ma for i-li-ma; 259, col. ii, 1, *eine* instead of *einer*; 260, col. iii, 14, imḫas (for ḫas).

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A NEW ASSYRIAN GRAMMAR.¹

Rosenberg's grammar is No. 66 of a large collection of language-primers, published by A. Hartleben's Verlag, for self-instruction, without the aid of a teacher. Its aim is "to furnish the beginner with all the materials which he will require in his earliest studies of the Assyrian language and the cuneiform inscriptions." It is an inadequate and very meager German presentation of King's *First Steps in Assyrian*,² with some material taken from Delitzsch's *Grammar*, and it abounds in inaccuracies and errors, which render its use by beginners and for self-instruction most dangerous.³ There is no other Assyrian grammar which contains such a number of hypothetical words—made for the occasion, so to speak—and yet they are presented without the slightest indication that they are hypothetical forms. A grammar for beginners who study without the assistance of an instructor should be very accurate and free from all proofreader's (?) errors.⁴ I will mention here only a few errors and omissions: P. 17, a-ni-ni "we;" but the more common ni-i-nu(-ni) and a-ni-nu are omitted; the same is the case in almost all instances where in Assyrian several equally well-attested synonymous forms occur. P. 19, ul-lu, pl. ul-lu-ti, should be ul-lu-u, ul-lu-u-ti (and -tu). Ma-nu "who? whom?" given as the usual spelling is a very rare form, the usual forms being man-nu and ma-an-nu; mi-nu should rather be mi-i-nu. Among the indefinite pronouns we find such

¹ ASSYRISCHE SPRACHLEHRE UND KEILSCHRIFTKUNDE FÜR DAS SELBSTSTUDIUM. Grammatik, Syllabar, Chrestomathie und Vocabular auf Grundlage der assyrischen Keilschriftzeichen für einfache Silben methodisch und leichtfasslich bearbeitet von J. Rosenberg, Professor für moderne und semitische Sprachen. Wien, Pest, Leipzig: A. Hartleben's Verlag [no date]. viii+180 pp.; 12mo. M. 2. [Die Kunst der Polyglottie, 66ter Theil.]

² See this JOURNAL, Vol. XV, pp. 171, 172.

³ It is not true to say (p. 2) that the United States (or American) government ("die Regierung von Amerika") has sent expeditions to Assyria and Babylonia; the real facts might have been stated in two or three additional lines. Still, the author may be entirely ignorant of the true state of affairs as touching this country.—P. 13, the very first text quoted in transliteration and translation contains several mistakes; e. g., DIŠ is always ana, not enuma (see Thompson's *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*); innamar should be read innamir; and l. 3, ina kakki šumḫututu should be read ina (iḡ) kakki šumḫu-ut, with a word of explanation concerning the nature of the "complement." Who can believe the statement that ru-ḫu is pronounced rūḫu, and ru-uḫ-ḫu rūḫu? Rūḫu ("far, distant") is more often spelled ru-ḫu (etc.) than ru-u-ḫu (etc.); while ru-uḫ-ḫu is a form like nuḫḫu (not nūḫu).

⁴ P. 14, l. 6 (from below), rūku, read rūḫu; p. 16, l. 22, read ḫi for ti and ḡa for sa; l. 26, e(not e) rubma; l. 27, mandattu (not a); p. 45, l. 13, read alaku; l. 28, šalalu; l. 30, idū, etc. The author throughout his grammar uses the signs " and " promiscuously without a word of explanation; see, e. g., pp. 14, 16, and 45.

forms as *ma-nu-ma-an* (!), which is evidently copied from Delitzsch, *Grammatik*, p. 142, l. 1, *ma-nu-man*. If Rosenberg had examined the text (IV R.² 6, iv, 14), he might have seen that it clearly reads *ma-am-man*. Many more "Unformen" of like character are furnished by the author in his various paradigms.⁵

Pp. 59-69 contain ll. 8-27 and 81-175 of the "Account of the Deluge" in transliteration and translation. Here is a sample:

1. 8, *Ši-it-na-pi-iš-ti-im a-na ša-šu-ma i-za-ka-ra,*
a-na Gi-il-ga-me-eš.

12, *i-na ki-ša-ad na-a-ru Pu-ra-at-ti sa(sic!)-ak-nu.*

Of ll. 28-80 Rosenberg says: "diese Stelle der Inschrift ist jedoch verwischt und unleserlich." There is again not the slightest indication that this deluge-text transliteration is a reconstruction by Rosenberg—for practice sake—of our well-known deluge-text, which, by the way, is reproduced on pp. 138 *sqq.* with the correct cuneiform characters. Students of Rosenberg's grammar must needs come to the conclusion that we have two recensions of this same text, the one published on pp. 59 *sqq.*, and the other on pp. 138 *sqq.* What do Jensen, Zimmern, and others say to this fine, conclusive reading *Ši-it-na-pi-iš-ti-im*, etc.; or *u-ku-ur* (l. 24) as against *u-gur*; 92, *at-ta-ša-al*; 99, *Ra-am-ma-a-an* (common Assyriologists now read ¹¹ *Adad*); 100, *Na-bu-u u Ma-ar-du-uk*, etc.; 166, *lu-u* omitted before *u(a)ḥ-su-sa*, and l. 159 (end), *u ŠIM-GIR*? The translation added to the transliteration could be improved vastly, *e. g.*, *abūbu* does not mean "Sündfluth;" ll. 24, 25, 26, "dein(en)" is added in the translation without mention that the cuneiform text omits the pronoun; 92, "I saw the approach of the storm;" ll. 158, 159, "Zu je sieben habe ich 'Fahrzeuge' (*sic!*) entlassen. Unter dieselben breitete ich Rohr aus und Zedernholz."—Pp. 73-108 give a "list of signs" by far inferior to that of King or Delitzsch. Pp. 109-36 contain a brief chrestomathy giving the cuneiform text and German translation (without transliteration) of ll. 1-17 of "the creation of the heavenly bodies and seasons," called by the author "Die Schöpfung der Welt;" ll. 176-205 of the deluge account, with a very faulty rendering of such lines as 196, 199, 200, 204, 205, etc. Sennacherib-Taylor, col. iii, 106-41, follows next. In the "Prayer to Ištar" (pp. 126-8;

⁵ Here are some instances taken *ad random*: The plural of *a-bu* is said to be *a-bu-u-ti*, *c. st.*, *a-bu-ut*; with suffix, *e. g.*, of 1 sing. *a-bu-ut-ja*, if used as a nominative or accusative, and *a-bu-u-ti-ja*, if used as a genitive or dative (pp. 26, 27); p. 32, *ši-ma-at-šu* "seine Geschäfte" from a sing. *ši-im-tu*, pl. *ši-ma-ti*. Of numerals we find the cardinal numbers thus: *iš-te-en* (neither fem. nor any other masc. form is mentioned); *ši-na*; *ša-la-šu*, *ir-ba-u*, *xa-am-šu*, *si-iš-šu*, etc., 15 = *xa-am-šu eš-rit*, although our texts clearly state *xa-meš-še-rit*; 20, 30, etc., are *eš-ra*, *ša-la-ša*, etc.; 1000 = *lim* [*al-pú*?]; why is not *li-im* quoted, which occurs quite often, and where does *al-pú* occur in the meaning of "1000"? There are no ordinal numbers given. The treatment of the verb is equally arbitrary and insufficient, hypothetical forms being pushed in at every possible instance, although the author nowhere indicates that he quotes any but actually occurring forms; thus, p. 146, l. 2, we find *na-da-a-nu*, pres. 2 sing. *ta-na-da-an*, "thou shalt give," quoted as the usual present of *nadanu*; p. 58, *pa-ar-ḡu-nu* "our laws" should certainly be *-ni*. Would any Assyriologist accept this: "*ta-a-b-ra-at* 'wonder,' *c. st.* of singular *ta-ab-ri-tu* from $\sqrt{\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}}$! Where do we find such forms as *ma-a-ḡu-nu* partic. of 𐎶𐎵𐎶 ? etc.

K 4931; see Haupt, *ASKT.*, pp. 116 sq.) several mistakes occur in the cuneiform text; and the Letter of Burnaburiaš, from the Tel-Amarna collection, is most arbitrarily changed textually; e. g., instead of *Bur-na-bu-ri-ia-aš* we have *Bu-ur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš*, etc. The vocabulary, pp. 159-80, contains many forms and spellings which Assyriologists classify as abnormal or not existing, as far as our literature is concerned.

Can such a book be recommended to students as a safe guide for self-instruction? Decidedly not!

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

P. S.—Two months after the above-printed review had been set up there appeared in the London *Athenæum* of December 8, 1900, a notice of the same book by Dr. B(udge), which is herewith repeated:

"A RECLAMATION.

"May I call the attention of your readers to a piece of plagiarism which seems to me to deserve notice? There has recently appeared in Germany, in a series called 'Die Kunst der Polyglottie,' published by Hartleben, of Vienna, Pesth, and Leipzig, a little volume entitled 'Assyrische Sprachlehre und Keilschriftkunde für das Selbststudium,' by Prof. J. Rosenberg. This volume contains a list of syllables and signs, remarks on grammar, lists of prepositions, adverbs, etc., a syllabary, a chrestomathy, and a vocabulary, which are taken almost verbatim from Mr. L. W. King's 'First Steps in Assyrian.' The syllabary, the chrestomathy, and several other parts of the German book contain internal evidence of the borrowing which has been done, and done on a large scale, and without the smallest acknowledgment of the obligation incurred. Mr. King's book is mentioned once, it is true, but then it is only as fourth in a list of books the names of which appear under the heading 'Litteratur.' Imitation is, we know, the sincerest form of flattery; similarly, the abridgment and 'gutting' of one's book are perhaps a compliment; such a compliment, however, will not recoup the publisher of an expensive book for the loss which will be entailed by a reduction of the number of copies sold."

E. A. W. B.

DIETRICH'S DIE MASSORAH DER ÖSTLICHEN UND WESTLICHEN SYRER.¹

The subject of the Syriac Massorah has been treated by Abbé Martin ("Tradition Karkaphienne ou la Massore chez les Syriens," *JA.*, 1869; 1875), Hoffmann (preface to his *Opuscula Nestoriana*, 1880), Wright ("Syriac Literature," 1887 [Vol. XXII of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*]; separate edition, 1894, pp. 20-25), and Merx (*Historia Artis Grammaticae apud Syros*, 1889, pp. 28 sqq.). Gwilliam's paper in *Studia Biblica*, Vol. III (1891), pp. 47-104, is largely devoted to the same subject (compare especially a list of the larger Massoretic MSS. on pp. 57-9; also two specimens of the Syriac Massorah reprinted from British Museum

¹DIE MASSORAH DER ÖSTLICHEN UND WESTLICHEN SYRER in ihren Angaben zum Propheten Jesaja nach fünf Handschriften des British Museum in Verbindung mit zwei Tractaten über Accente herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Gustav Diettrich. London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 134+lvii pp.; 12mo. 8s. 6d.

Elias of Tihhān from Add. 25, 876 (published without vowels previously by Martin, *Traité sur l'accentuation chez les Syriens orientaux*, 1877). Mār Bābī's opinions do not always agree with the system which he has handed down in the Massoretic text. He may have succeeded only partially in interpreting the accentual system which he found before him and which he faithfully reproduced.

While the Nestorian tradition is thus presented in its fulness, variants are printed under the text exhibiting the tradition of the Jacobite schools as derived from four other MSS. belonging to the British Museum (Add. 12, 178; 7, 183; 14, 482; 14, 684; see Wright, p. 23; Gwilliam, p. 58). The MSS. differ in size, contents, and selection of their material. Yet positive evidences are brought forward by Diettrich according to which all four go back to the traditions of the Ẕarkāfā monastery (Wright, p. 24; Gwilliam, pp. 60 *sqq.*) as their common source. Add. 12, 178, according to Diettrich, exhibits the purest type of the Karkaphensian tradition. All four differ in several points from the tradition embodied in the scholia of Barhebraeus. The variations from the Nestorian text are classified by Diettrich in the introduction. Accordingly the variants consist in points of orthography both as regards the consonants and the vowels (with references to Nöldeke's grammar and to similar variations in the Targūm texts with superlinear vocalization); others are more important and touch exegetical differences of opinion (thus sixteen such variations, as conditioned by different vocalization, are specified; Diettrich informs us that he examined two large codices belonging to the British Museum [Add. 12, 168, and 12, 144] containing Syriac *catenae* on Isaiah, in order, if possible, to trace the exegetical variations to their sources; his efforts, however, were unsuccessful, because, as he tells us, the Syriac *catenae* contain primarily excerpts from Greek Fathers who, of course, were unacquainted with the Syriac text of the Bible, while the two Syriac Fathers quoted there indulge in *allegorical* interpretation, and cannot therefore have influenced the purely *grammatical* labors of the Massoretes); still more important are consonantal differences involving a change of meaning; in other words, real textual variants; those the industrious editor has reserved for a critical edition of the Syriac text of Isaiah which is contemplated by him.

In three indices at the end are collected the marginal notes of MS. Add. 12, 138, alphabetically arranged, as well as the variants referred to above.

MAX L. MARGOLIS.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

STEIN'S HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN SCHWEINFURT.¹

Jewish history is a modern branch of science. Jost and Graetz have prematurely attempted to write general works before the material was collected. This is now being done, and chiefly by rabbis who have access

¹GESCHICHTE DER JUDEN IN SCHWEINFURT. Zwei Vorträge, gehalten im Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur zu Schweinfurt. Von Dr. Salomon Stein, Districts-rabbiner. Frankfurt a. M., 1899. 56 pp.

to local archives and have the necessary published works within their reach. So has Solomon Stein done with the history of Schweinfurt, a small but ancient city of Bavaria. The material collected is, as in almost all these histories, rather dry: a promissory note, a receipt, an order of an emperor about Jew-taxes, and of course occasionally a riot and an expulsion, caused by the imprudence of the Jews in pounding a consecrated host which subsequently began to bleed profusely, and the like. We must, however, gratefully acknowledge the meritorious character of such works. In one instance we miss an explanation. What does "Marquard der Butigler von Nürnberg" mean? No dictionary that I have in my library contains the word. I suppose *Butigler* means a storekeeper: *Bude* = "booth" = *boutique*. Stein's German is not always of the best order. "Ohne Vorbewusstsein des Papstes" (p. 10) ought to be *Vorwissen*. "Verfertigten Wälle" (p. 41) is not correct, and the name of the author of the history of Frankfurt rabbis is *Horovitz*, not "Horwitz" (p. 23). The author might have known that הַבִּישׁוֹף in mediæval Hebrew always means *bishop*, and not, as he translates, *Gebieter* (p. 41). His own source, speaking of the Hegemon of Würzburg and the Hegemon of Bamberg, might have taught him better.

G. DEUTSCH.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE,
Cincinnati, O.

A NOTE ON GEN. 6:3.

In the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. XIV, pp. 349-56 (June, 1900), is an article by K. Vollers with the subject "Zur Erklärung von דָּן Gen. 6:3." The author makes no allusion to my brief article which had appeared some months before in *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES*, Vol. XVI, pp. 47-9 (October, 1899), presumably because he was not acquainted with it. It should be noted, however, that, while there are many differences in the treatment, some of the points which Vollers makes had already been anticipated in my article. One of these is the main conclusion, viz., that the root of דָּן is an דָּן verb דָּן, which is equivalent to the Assyrian verb *danānu*, "to be strong." Another is the opinion that the same root is to be found in the Hebrew proper name דָּן, equivalent to the Assyrian word *dannatu*, "fortress." The general meaning thus afforded for Gen. 6:3 is naturally the same in both articles.

GEORGE RICKER BERRY.

COLGATE UNIVERSITY,
Hamilton, N. Y.

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VOLUME XVII

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NUMBER 3

A HYMN TO ŠAMAŠ.

BY CLIFTON DAGGETT GRAY,
The University of Chicago.

This hymn to Šamaš was published by R. E. Brünnow in *ZA.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2, who had before him the following fragments: K. 3182 + K. 3312, K. 3187, K. 3474, K. 3650, K. 8232, K. 8233, and K. 9699. As a result of his work several joins were afterward made, and other fragments were discovered, viz.: K. 5459, K. 9356, K. 10587, S. 311, S. 372, and S. 1033. While working on the Šamaš texts this last summer in the British Museum, I discovered five new fragments belonging to K. 3182, viz.: K. 5121, K. 6823, K. 13430, K. 13794, and S. 1398; and also another duplicate, 83-1-18, 472. From a careful study of the formation and style of writing of K. 3650, K. 9356, and 83-1-18, 472, the following facts seem to be assured. K. 3650 and K. 3474 belong to the same tablet, the former being its upper portion and the latter its lower portion, the fragment connecting the two having not yet been found. K. 9356 is undoubtedly a part of the obverse of K. 3182, but on account of its thinness no join could be made. S. 1033 is a part of the same tablet as 83-1-18, 472.

There are, then, three copies of this hymn in the British Museum:

- A. K. 3182 + K. 3187 + K. 3312 + K. 5121 + K. 5459
+ K. 6823 + K. 8232 + K. 9699 + K. 10587
+ K. 13430 + K. 13794 + S. 311 + S. 1398.
K. 9356.
- B. K. 3474 + K. 8233 + S. 372.
K. 3650.
- C. S. 1033.
83-1-18, 472.

All of these texts, together with the other hymns and incantations to Šamaš as given by Dr. Bezold in his *Catalogue*, will be published later in book form. I have, therefore, in this article given the text of only one of the copies of this hymn, K. 3182, and also the transliteration and translation of the reconstructed text. The notes are confined almost entirely to the variants and to places where I have been obliged to differ from Brünnow's readings.

The following table will give the correspondences between the reconstructed text and the duplicates :

- A. K. 3182, obv., col. i = col. i, 1-16, 19-56
 " " " ii = " ii, 12-29, 45-56
 " rev., " iii = " iii, 1-53
 " " " iv = " iv, 1-20, 29-34, and colophon
 K. 9356 = " ii, 33-39
- B. K. 3474, obv., col. i = col. i, 17-56; col. ii, 1, 2
 " " " ii = " ii, 26-52
 " rev., " iii = " iii, 29-38
 " " " iv = " iv, 12-33
 K. 3650, obv., " i = " i, 1-9
 " " " ii = " ii, 3-14
 " rev., " iii = " iii, 47-56; col. iv, 1, 2
 " " " iv = " iv, colophon (ends of two lines)
- C. S. 1033, obv., col. i = col. i, 17-34
 " " " ii = " ii, 32-37
 83-1-18, 472, " " ii = " ii, 52-56; col. iii, 1-7
 " rev., " iii = " iii, 13-24

This hymn to Šamaš is of peculiar interest to students of Babylonian and Assyrian religion for two reasons.

In the first place, there is the entire absence of any reference to incantation. All the other so-called hymns and prayers of Šamaš are more or less closely connected with this lower form of religious development. This fact has been noticed by Jastrow in his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 302, but he apparently overlooks the existence of this hymn, which is one of the best examples of a pure hymn to be found in all the literature.

Secondly, it is of interest because of its ethical characteristics. It is to be regretted that the tablet is broken where the dealing

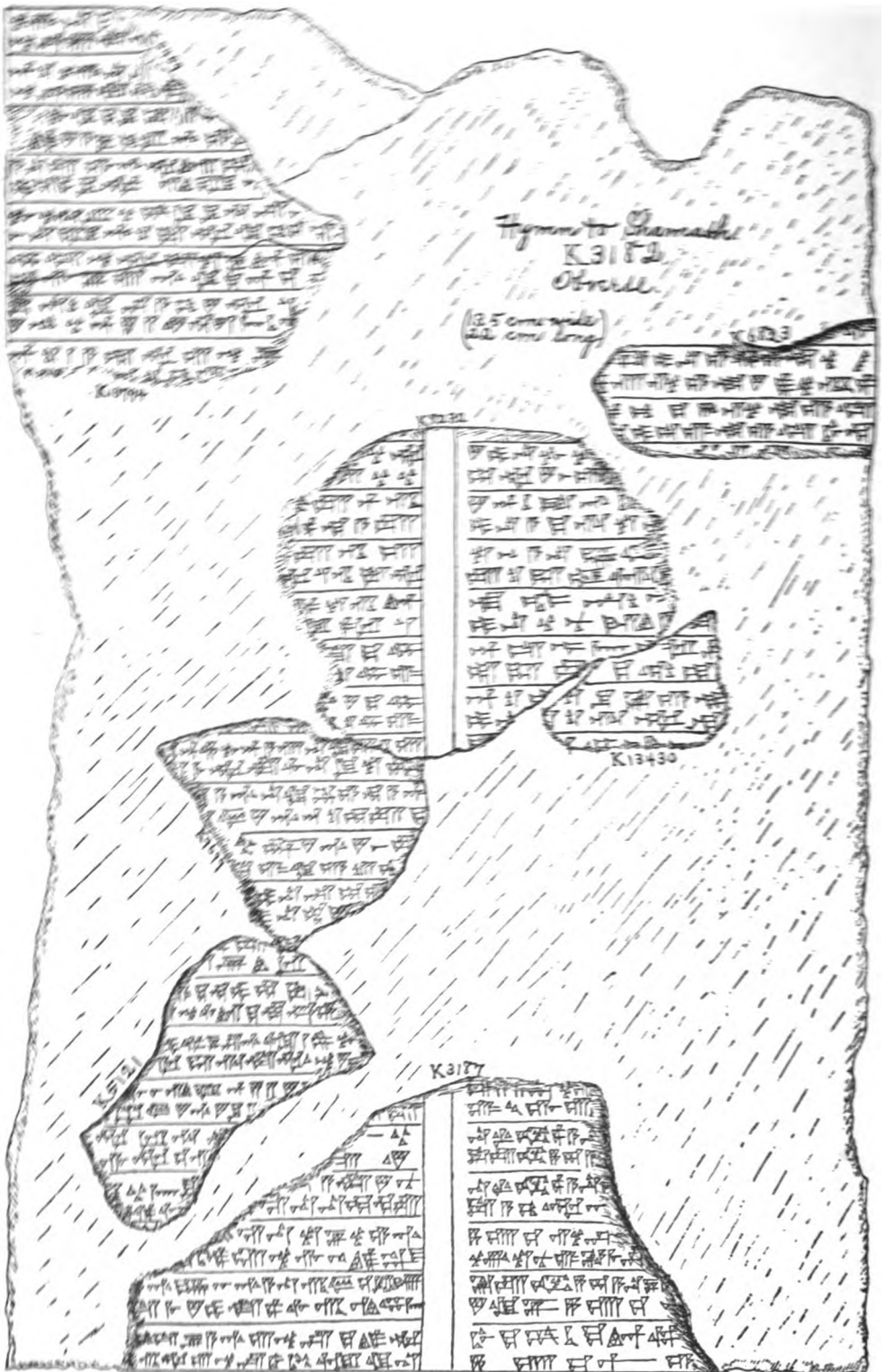
with false weights and measures is spoken of. Enough, however, remains to remind us of the priestly regulations concerning this in the Old Testament. Worthy of note also are the classes of people who pray to Šamaš. He is the friend of the weak, the outcast, the wanderer, and those in humble positions in life like the hunter, the fisherman, and the cattle-herder. The robber and the thief, however, are his enemies. Though the murderer and the destroyer pray to him, he will not hearken to their petitions. We ought to note finally the condemnation of some of the more common oriental sins, such as dishonest dealing by false weights, the removal of boundaries (col. ii, 40), and a corrupt judiciary. In col. ii, 32, there is a probable reference to adultery, and in col. iii, 1, a reference either to unjust taxation or to exorbitant rates of interest, both characteristic of the ancient Semitic race. On the other hand, certain ones are well-pleasing to Šamaš. In col. ii, 43, it is the incorruptible judge who has regard for the weak. In col. ii, 49, the commendation is given apparently to one who has good business ability, while col. iii, 6, refers probably to agricultural industry, though this last is somewhat uncertain on account of the broken line.

I take this opportunity to add a word concerning the poetical structure of the hymn. Throughout the hymn is found a parallelism which is strikingly similar to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, and which corresponds in general to the paragraphs, except in one or two places in col. iii. *Cf.*, for example, col. i, 37, 38, 45, 46; col. ii, 41, 42. Cases of chiasm are not infrequent, viz.: col. i, 21, 50; col. iii, 7, 8, 17. A play upon words is found in col. ii, 47, 48, *kaspa* and *uštakazzab*.

With regard to the translation as a whole, while the general trend of thought is plain, yet in the case of many single lines, owing to lack of context, the translation is merely tentative.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge my obligations to Dr. E. Wallis Budge, the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, and to Mr. Leonard W. King and Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, assistants in the department, for their courtesy, and for the great assistance which they afforded me during my stay in London.

I am indebted to my instructor, Professor Robert Francis Harper, for many valuable suggestions about text and translation. For the results as presented, however, I am solely responsible.



Hymns to Shamathe
K3172
Obverse

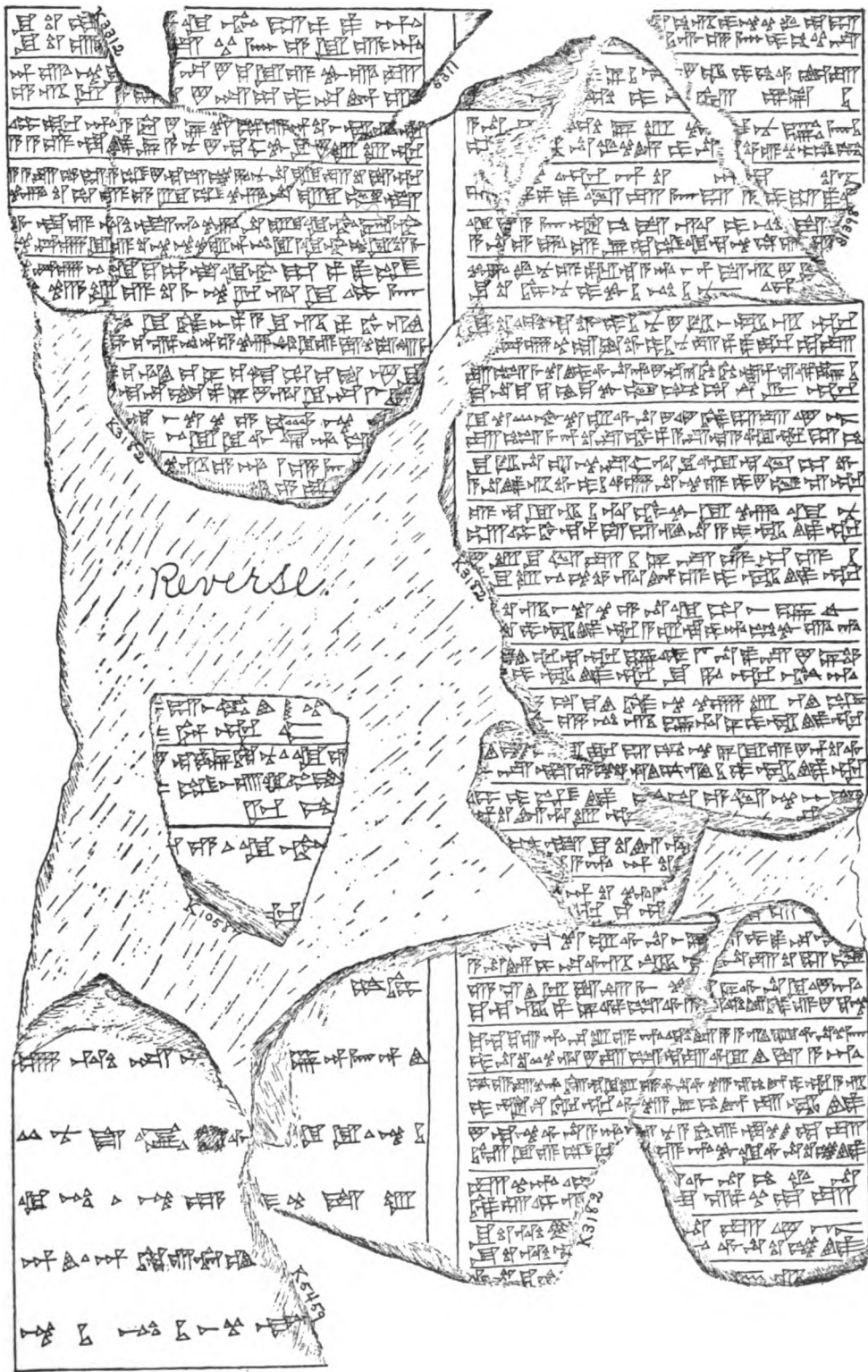
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(21 cm long)

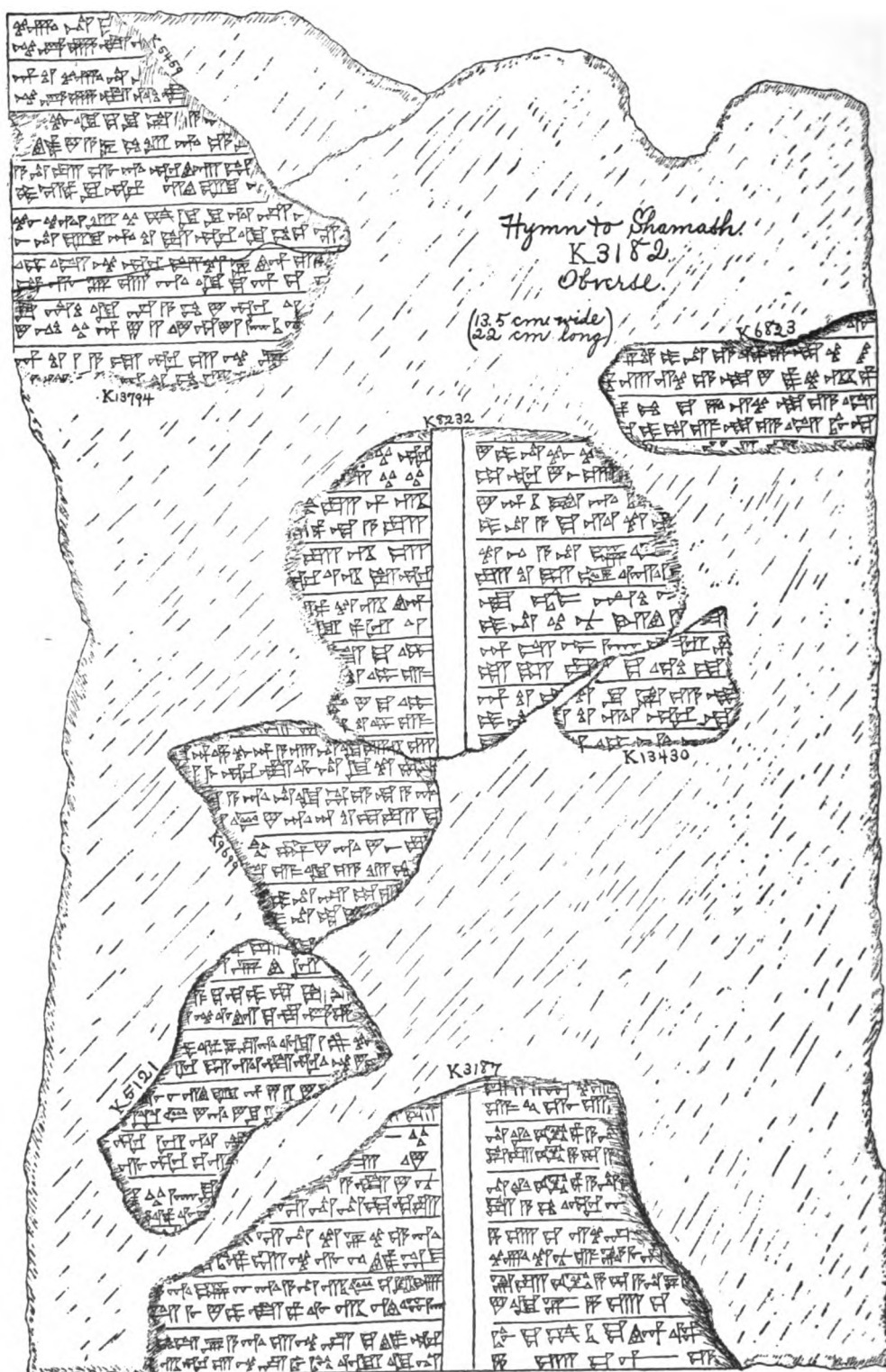
K3173

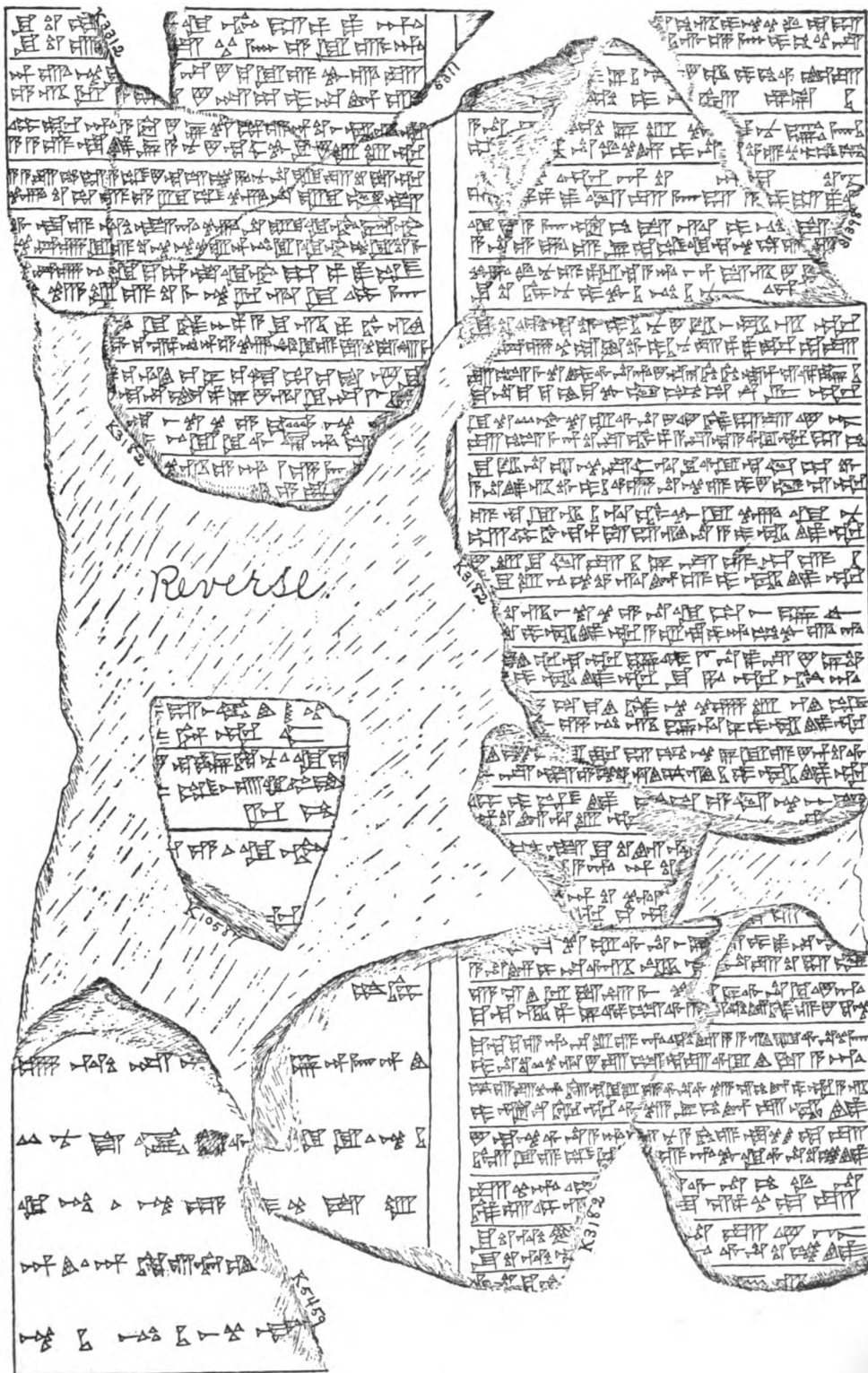
K13430

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K3178







RECONSTRUCTED TEXT.

TRANSLITERATION.

COLUMN I.

1. muš-na-m[ir]ša-ma-mi
2. mu-šaḥ-li-i[ḫ li-]e-liš u šap-liš
3. ¹¹Šamaš muš-na-m[ir]ša-ma-mi
4. mu-šaḥ-li-iḫ li[- e-li]š u šap-liš
5. [.]-pu ki-ma šú-uš-kal-[li ša]-ru-ru-ka
6. ana(?) ḥur-ša-a-ni gaš-ru-ti e-[. -m]a(?) tam-di
7. a-na ta-mar-ti-ka iḥ-du-[ú]-al-ki
8. i-riš-šú-ka gi-mir [. ¹¹]Igigi
9. pu-uz-ru sat-tak-ku šú-ḥu-zu [.]-ka
10. ina na-mir-ti urra-ka ki-bi-is-si-[.]
11. mi-lam-mu-ka iš-te-ni-'ú [.]
12. kib-rat ir-bit-ti ki-ma išāti [.]
13. šú-pal-ki ba-a-bi ša ka-liš [.]
14. ša kul-lat ¹¹Igigi nindabē^{pl.} šu-nu [.]
15. ¹¹Šamaš ana a-ḡi-ka kit-mu-sa [.]
16. [.] ¹¹Šamaš bi-[.]
17. muš-na-mir pi-tu-u¹ ik-li-ti muš-t[a(?)]
18. mu-šaḥ-miṭ zik-kur ur-ri me-riš še-im na-r[a(?)]
19. ša-di-i gaš-ru-ti e-ri-ma ša-lum-mat-ka
20. nam-ri-ru-ka² im-lu-ú si-ḥi-ip mātāte
21. kat-ra-ta ana ḥur-sa-a-ni ir-ḡi-ta³ ta-bar-ri
22. kip-pat mātāte ina ki-rib šami-e šaḫ-la-a-ta
23. nišē^{pl.} mātāte kul-lat-si-na ta-paḫ-ḡid
24. ša ¹¹E-a šarru mal-ku uš-tab-nu-ú ka-liš paḫ-da-ta⁴
25. šú-ut na-piš-ti šak-na mit-ḥa-riš te⁵-ri-'
26. at-ta-ma na-ḡid-si-na ša e-liš ù⁶ šap-liš
27. te-te-ni-ti-iḫ gi-na-a šá⁷-ma-mi
28. [a-na(?)⁸] um-tul⁹-ta ir-ḡi-tu ta-ba-' ū-mi¹⁰-šam
29. mīlu(?)¹¹ tām-tim ḥur-sa-a-ni ir-ḡi-ta^{11a} ša¹²-ma-mi
30. ki-i kar(?)¹³[- . . .]-si gi-na-a ta-ba-' ū-mi¹⁴-šam
31. šap-la-a-ti [šá ¹¹E]N(?) -KI ¹¹Azag-gid ¹¹A-nun-na-ki
ta-paḫ-ḡid
32. e-la-a-ti šá da-ád-me ka-li-ši-na tuš-te-šir
33. ri-'-u šap-la-a-ti na-ḡi-du e-la-a-ti
34. muš-te-šir nu-úr kiš-ša-ti ¹¹Šamaš at-ta-ma

¹ S. 1033, ū.² S. 1033, nam-ri-ir-ru-ka.³ K. 3182, tim.⁴ K. 3474, S. 1033, ta; K. 3182, ka.⁵ K. 3474, S. 1033, ta.⁶ K. 3474, S. 1033, u.⁷ K. 3474, S. 1033, ša.⁸ S. 1033, ana(?).⁹ Br. wrongly ki.¹⁰ K. 3474, S. 1033, me.¹¹ A. K. A. L.(?).^{11a} K. 3182, tim.¹² S. 1033, šá.¹³ Or possibly sa, but not ir as Br.¹⁴ K. 3474, me.

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT.

TRANSLATION.

COLUMN I.

1. O thou who makest to shine [.] the heavens,
2. Who bringest destruction upon [.] above and below.
3. O Šamaš, thou who makest to shine [.] the heavens,
4. Who bringest destruction upon [.] above and below.
5. Casting down(?) like a drag-net [.] thy brilliance,
6. To the mighty mountains [.] the sea.
7. At thy appearance rejoice the [.]
8. The whole [.] of the Igigi shout joyfully to thee.
9. A perpetual mystery is the teaching of thy [.],
10. In the brightness of thy light their walk [.].
11. Thy splendor reaches [.],
12. The four regions like fire [.].
13. Wide open is the gate of all [.],
14. As for all the Igigi, their free-will offerings [.].
15. O Šamaš, at thy rising are bowed down the [.],
16. [.] Šamaš [.],
17. Thou who makest to shine, who openest the darkness, who [. . .],
18. Who makest to quiver the (?) of light, the planting of corn [. . . .].
19. The mighty mountains are pregnant with thy glory,
20. Thy brilliancy fills and overwhelms the countries.
21. Thou approachest the mountains, thou gazest upon the earth,
22. At the ends of the earth, in the midst of the heavens thou art suspended.
23. The people of the countries, all of them, thou protectest,
24. What Ea, the king, the prince, has created, of all that thou art protector.
25. Thou shepherdest all created life together,
26. Thou art leader of the things above and below.
27. Thou marchest across the heavens regularly,
28. To (?) the earth thou comest day by day.
29. The flood, the sea, the mountains, the earth, the heavens,
30. Like a [.] regularly thou traverses day by day.
31. The things below, belonging to Ea(?), Azaggid, and the Anunnaki, thou protectest,
32. The things above, belonging to the inhabited world, all of them thou directest.
33. Shepherd of what is below, leader of what is above,
34. Director of the light of the world art thou, O Šamaš.

35. te-te-ni-bir tām-tim¹⁵ rap-ša-ti ša-dil-ta
 36. [ša(?)¹¹ Igigi la i-du-ú ki-rib lib¹⁶-bi-ša
 37. [¹¹Šamaš(?) bir-bir-ru-ka i¹⁷-na apsi¹⁸ ú-ri-du
 38. [ga]b-šú-ut tām-tim i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu nu-úr-ka
 39. [¹¹Šamaš(?) ki-ma ki-e ka-sa-ta ki-ma im-ba-ri[. .]-ku-ta
 40. [. . .]-šú salūla-ka sa-ḫi-ip mātāte
 41. [ul] ta-šú-uš ū-me-šam-ma la¹⁹ i-ad-da-ru pa-na-ka
 42. [. . .] ta-bar-ri i-na²⁰ mu-ši-im-ma tu-šaḫ-miṭ[.]
 43. [i-]na šid-di ša la i-di ni-su-ti u²¹ bi-ri la ma-nu-[ti]
 44. ¹¹Šamaš²² dal-pa-ta ša ur-ra tal-li-ka u mu-ša ta-
 kit(?)-[. . .]
 45. ul i-ba-aš-ši ina gi-mir ¹¹Igigi ša šú-nu-ḫu ba-li-ka
 46. ina ilāni²³ napḫar²⁴ kiš-ša-ti ša šú-tu-ru ki-ma ka-a-ta
 47. ḡi-tuk-ka ip-ḫu-ru ilāni²⁵ mātāte²⁶
 48. na-mur-rat-ka iz-zi-ti ma-a-tum saḫ-pat
 49. [šá] nap-ḫar mātāte²⁷ šú-ut šú-un-na-a li-ša-nu
 50. [ti-]i-di kip-di-ši-na ki-bi-is-si-na na-aṭ-la-ta²⁸
 51. [.]-nik-ka kul-lat-si-na te-ni-še-e-ti
 52. [¹¹Šamaš] a-na nūri-ka ḡu-um-mu-rat²⁹ mit-ḫar-tum
 53. [ina(?) ma-kal-ti amēl barūtī(ti)³⁰ a-na ri-kis ¹⁴ērini
 54. [.] iš-me³¹ ša-i-li pa-ši-ri šuttē³²
 55. [.] ša rik-sa-a-ti kit-mu-su³³ ma-ḫar-ka
 56. [.]-ri-ka kit-mu-su rag-gu ū³⁴ ki-na

COLUMN II.

1. [.]-ra-du ina apsi ba-li-ka
 2. [.-e(?)]-ni u za-ma-ni-e tu-ša-pi di-in-šú-un
 3. a-bi(?)-[.]
 4. i-ri-iḫ-ḫi šú-ma šit-ta [.]
 5. tu-tar-ra zal-pa ša la mu-šam-[.]
 6. tu-sil-li AŠ.ḪU³⁵.BUR. ša di-na-ti iḡ-bu-tú [.]
 7. ina di-in ki-na-a-ti ¹¹Šamaš ša tak-bu-u [.]
 8. šú-pu-u zik-ru-ka ul in-nin-nu-u pa-na ul [.]
 9. te-im-mi-id a-na al-la-ki ša šup-šú-ḡat ú-ru[-uḫ-šu]
 10. a-na e-bir tām-tim a-dir a-ḡi-e ta-nam-din [.]
 11. ḫar-ra-na-a-ti ša la am-ra ḡa-'i-da ta-[.]
 12. [. .]-li-i UŠ³⁶-di ma-ḫi-ru ša ¹¹[Šam(?)]-ši
 13. [.]-maš ki-si³⁷ ina e-di-e tu-še-zib
 14. [.] ³⁸nun-zi-e tu-ša-aš-kan kap-pa

¹⁵ K. 3474, ta-ma-tum rapaš-tum ša-di-il-ta.

¹⁶ Br. wrongly sub.

¹⁷ Br. wrongly a-na.

¹⁸ K. 3474, ina ap-si-i.

¹⁹ K. 3474, ul 'da-ru.

²⁰ K. 3474, ina.

²¹ K. 3182, ā ana kas-bu[. . . .].

²² Br. wrongly tu-par-ri. First sign is an, not tu.

²³ K. 3474, nap-ḫar.

²⁴ K. 3474, ma-a-ti.

²⁵ K. 3474, mātāte.

²⁶ K. 3474, na-aṭ-la-a-ta.

²⁷ K. 3474, ḡu-mu-rat mit-ḫar-ti.

²⁸ K. 3474, ba-ru-ti.

²⁹ K. 3474, [. . .] mu ši mi šaile³⁰ pa-še-ru

šuttē³¹. ³⁰ K. 3474, sa.

³¹ K. 3474, u ki-e-nim.

³² Br. wrongly ti. Another reading may be AN.ŠU.

³³ K. 3182, TAK.(=kisu) i-na.

³⁴ K. 3650, nun-sa-a.

35. Thou passest over the wide, broad sea,
36. The very depth of which the Igigi know not.
37. [O Šamaš,] thy dazzling light penetrates the deep,
38. Thy light looks to and fro upon the swarming life of the sea.
39. [O Šamaš,] like a garment thou art covered, like a storm thou art
[.],
40. [.] thy shadow overwhelming countries.
41. Thou art [not] troubled daily, nor is thy face darkened,
42. [.] thou lookest into the night, thou makest to glow [. . . .].
43. In regions unknown and distant, and places (?) without number,
44. O Šamaš, thou art distressed when thy light fails, and the
night [.].
45. Among all the Igigi there is not one who gives rest besides thee,
46. Nor among the gods of all the regions one who excels like thee.
47. At thy rising the gods of the countries assemble,
48. Thy terrible brilliancy overwhelms the land.
49. As for those that speak with the tongue in all countries,
50. Thou knowest their plans, their walk thou observest.
51. [.] thee, mankind, all of them,
52. [O Šamaš,] upon thy light they think in harmony.
53. [In] the divining cup^{34a} of the seer, at the preparation of the
cedar,
54. [.] of the magician, the interpreter of
dreams,
55. [.] of the preparations bow down before
thee,
56. [In thy pres]ence the evil and the just bow down.

COLUMN II.

1. [.] into the deep without thee,
2. [.] and the wicked, thou bringest to light their
judgment.
3. [.],
4. [(Cf. transliteration)]
5. Thou makest the evil-doer to quake who does not]
6. Thou (?) , who wrests(?) judgments]
7. By the righteous judgment, O Šamaš, which thou proclaimest . . .]
8. Excellent is thy renown, unchangeable (?)].
9. Thou standest by the traveler whose way is steep,
10. To the seafarer who fears the flood thou givest [courage(?)].
11. Paths that have not seen a hunter thou [.]
12. [.] (?) rival(?) of Šamaš(?).
13. [.] (?) from the flood thou wilt
save,
14. [.] (?) thou establishest (?) .

^{34a} Cf. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*. Dritte Lieferung.

15. [...]-bi ma-ḥa-zi tu-kal-lam
 16. [...] i-du-ú tu-kal-lam šal-la
 17. ša i-na bu-kur³⁵ [...]
 18. bīti(?) -ka ša ina bīt [...]
 19. ša ilu-šu it-ti-šu [...]
 20. i-na a-ma-ri te-[ri(?)] [...]
 21. te-mid a-na amēl [...]
 22. ta-par-ra-as ar- [...]
 23. tu-ub-bal [...]
 24. i-na māt la taiārti [...]
 25. ilat Ištarāte³⁶ šab-sa-[a-te [...]
 26. ši-ra-ta ma ul si(?)] [...]
 27. ¹¹ Šamaš i-na šú-uš-kal-li-[ka [...]
 28. i-na³⁶ giš-par-ri-ka la- [...]
 29. šá³⁷ a-na ma-mi-ti [...]
 30. a-na la a-dir ṣa- [...]
 31. tar-ṣa-at še-it-ka rap- [...]
 32. ša a-na al-ti tap-pi-šu iš-šú- [...]
 33. i-na ū-um la ši-ma-ti³⁸ ú-ša- [...]
 34. kun-na-aš-šu³⁹ kip-pu zi-ru-ú [...]
 35. iš-šír-šu ¹⁹ kakku-ka ma mu-še-zi-bu ul [...]
 36. ina di-ni-šú⁴⁰ ul i-za-az-za abi[-šú(?)]
 37. ina pī da-a⁴¹ -a-ni ul ip-pa-lu šú-nu aḥē³⁶ -šu
 38. ina ḥu-ḥa-ri ša ʿri-e⁴² sa-ḥi-ip ul i-di
 39. ša ka-ṣir an-zil-li ḫar-na-šu tu-bal-la
 40. e-piš šid-di ka-pi-du e-ni ḫaḫ-ḫar-šú
 41. da-a-a-na zal-pa mi-si-ra tu-kal-lam
 42. ma-ḥir da-'-ti la muš-te-še-ru tu-ša-az-bal ar-na
 43. la ma-ḥir da-'-ti ṣa-bi-tú a-bu-ti en-še
 44. ṭa-a-bi ʿli ¹¹ Šamaš balāṭa ut-tar
 45. da-a-a-an^{43a} muš-ta-lum ša di-in me-ša-ri i-di-nu
 46. ú-gam-mar ʾekalla šú-bat rubē³⁶ mu-šab-šu
 47. na-din kas-pa⁴³ a-na šid-di ḫab-bi-lu mi-na-a ut-tar
 48. uš-ta-kaz-za-ab⁴⁴ a-na ni-me-li ma ú-ḫal-laḫ kīsa
 49. na-din kas-pa a-na šid-di rūḫūti³⁶ mu-tir I šikla
 a-na še-[lal-ti(?)]
 50. ṭa-a-bi ʿli ¹¹ Šamaš balāṭa ut-tar
 51. ṣa-bit ¹⁹ zi-b[a-ni-ti [...]-lul-ti
 52. muš-te-nu-ú aban ME.SU.⁴⁵ [...]-šap-pal
 53. uš-ta-kaz-za-ab a-na ni-me-li-im-ma ú- [...]
 54. ša ki-ni ṣa-bit ¹⁹ zi-ba-ni-ti ma-'-da [...]
 55. mim-ma šum-šu ma-'-di [...⁴⁶] ad-ki ša-aš-šu [...]
 56. ṣa-bit ¹⁹ BAR e-piš ši- [...]

³⁵ Not ḥur, as Br.³⁶ K. 3474, ina.³⁷ K. 3474, ša.³⁸ K. 9356, ši-ma-ku.³⁹ K. 3474, šú.⁴⁰ K. 3474, šu.⁴¹ K. 3474, DI.TAR.⁴² K. 3474, e-ri-e.^{43a} K. 3474, na.⁴³ K. 3474, kaspa.⁴⁴ K. 3474, zab.⁴⁵ 83-1-18, 472, [...] ? an
ki-i-si ga(?) ? [...].⁴⁶ 83-1-18, 472, has end of
sign like e. Perhaps two
signs are missing.

15. [.] thou makest the city to see,
16. [.] (?) thou makest the captive to see.
17. Who among the first-born of [.],
18. As for thy house, which in the house [.],
19. He whose god is with him [.],
20. In the observation of [.],
21. Thou standest by the [.],
22. Thou decidest [.],
23. Thou bringest [.],
24. In the land of No-Return [.],
25. The angry goddesses [.],
26. Lofty (?) [.],
27. O Šamaš, with [thy] drag-net [.],
28. With thy net [.],
29. Who against the oath [.],
30. To him who fears not [.],
31. Thy broad snare is spread over [.],
32. As for him who to his neighbor's wife [.],
33. On an unpropitious day [.],
34. [(Cf. transliteration)],
35. Thy weapon diminishes(?) him, there is no deliverer,
36. His father(?) does not stand up for his cause.
37. At the command of the judge they answer not—they are his
brothers;
38. With a trap of bronze an overthrower he does not know.
39. As for him who gives protection to wickedness, his horn thou wilt
destroy,
40. Even the fixer of boundaries, who schemes to oppress his land.
41. The wicked judge thou makest to behold bondage,
42. Him who receives a bribe, who does not guide aright, thou makest
to bear sin.
43. He who receives not a bribe, who has regard for the weak,
44. Shall be well-pleasing to Šamaš, he shall prolong his life.
45. The judge, the arbiter, who gives righteous judgment,
46. Shall complete a palace, a princely abode, for his dwelling-place.
47. He who gives money for a boundary, the worthless fellow, what does
he profit?
48. He brings about deception for gain, and changes weights.
49. He who gives money for distant boundaries and gains in return one
shekel for three (?),
50. He shall be well-pleasing to Šamaš, he shall prolong his life.
51. He who handles(?) the scales [.],
52. He who alters the weights [.],
53. He brings about deception for gain and [.];
54. But he who handles the scales honestly, much [.],
55. Whatever his name, much [.] ? [.],
56. He who handles the measure(?), who does [.].

COLUMN III.

1. [.....] i-na bi-ri-i⁴⁷ mu-šad-din at-ra
2. [.....] a[r⁴⁸-rat nišē^{pl} i-kaš-šad-su
3. [.....]-ni-šu [..]-ša-al i-raš-ši⁴⁹ bil-ta
4. [.....] ul i-be-el apal⁵⁰-šu
5. a-na [.....] ul ir-ru-bu šú-nu aḥē^{pl}-šu
6. [.....] na-din še-im i-na [..]-ṣab⁵¹ ú-šat-tar dum-ḵu
7. [ṭa-a-b]i ʿeli ¹¹Šamaš balāṭa ut-tar
8. ú-[rap]-pa-aš kim-ta meš-ra-a i-ra-aš-ši
9. ki-ma mē^{pl} naḵ-bi da-ri-i zir da-[...]
10. a-na e-piš ú-sa-at dum-ki la mu-du-ú [.....]
11. muš-tin-nu-ú šap-la-a-ti ina maš-ṭa-ri ša-[.....]
12. šú-ut lum-nu i-pu-šu zir-šu-nu ul [.....]
13. šú-ut ul-la pi-i-šu-nu ša-kin ina maḥ-ri-ka
14. [...] šaḥ-maṭ ṣi-it pi-i⁵²-šu-nu ta-pa-aš-šar at-ta
15. ta-šim-me te⁵³-bir-ši-na-ti ša rug-gu-gu tu-mas-si⁵⁴
di-in-šu

16. ma-na-ma ma-am-ma⁵⁵ pu-uḵ-ḵu-du ḵa-tuk-ka
17. tuš-te-eš-šir⁵⁶ te-rit-ši-na ša šuḵ-ṣu-ra⁵⁷ ta-paṭ-ṭar
18. ta-šim-me ¹¹Šamaš su-up-pa-a⁵⁸ su-la-a ù ka-ra-bi
19. šú-kin-na kit-mu-su lit-ḥu-šú⁵⁹ ù⁶⁰ la-ban ap-pi
20. a-na ḥar-ri pi-i-šu⁶¹ dun-na-mu-ú i-ša-as-si-ka
21. ú-la-lu en-šu ḥu-ub-bu-lu muš-ki-nu
22. um-mi šal-la maš-ṭa-ra⁶² gi-na-a i-maḥ-ḥar-ka
23. ša ru-ḵat kim-ta-šu ni-su-ú alu⁶³-ú-šu
24. [ina(?)] šú-ru-bat ṣēri ri-'-ú⁶⁴ i-maḥ-ḥar-ka
25. [.....]-par⁶⁵-ri ina te-še-e na-ḵi-du ina amēl nakri
26. [¹¹Šam]aš i-maḥ-ḥar-ka a-lak-tu i-ti-ḵu pu-luḥ-ti
27. [.....]-ḥi al-la-ka amēl samallū⁶⁶ na-aš kīsi
28. [¹¹Šamaš(?)] i-maḥ-ḥar-ka ba'ir ka-tim-ti
29. ṣa-a-a-du⁶⁷ ma-ḥi-ṣu mu-tir-ru bāli
30. ina bu-un zir-ri amēl mōdu i-maḥ-ḥar-ka
31. mut-ṭaḥ-li-lu šar-ra-ḵu mu-ṣal-lu-ú ša ¹¹Šam-ši
32. [ina] su-li-e ṣēri mut-tag-gi-šu i-maḥ-ḥar-ka
33. mi-i-tum⁶⁸ har-bi-du e-kim-mu ḥal-ḵu
34. ¹¹Šamaš im-ḥu-ru-ka [.....]
35. ul tak-li šú-ut im-ḥu-[ru]
36. a-na šar-[.....]-a-ti ¹¹Šamaš [.....]
37. ša at(?)-[.....] ¹¹Šamaš uz-[.....]

⁴⁷ 83-1-18, 472, e.⁴⁸ 83-1-18, 472, ár.⁴⁹ 83-1-18, 472, i-ra-aš-ši belta.⁵⁰ 83-1-18, 472, a-pal-šú.⁵¹ Possibly pi; 83-1-18, 472, pa-an.⁵² 83-1-18, 472, pi-šu-nu.⁵³ 83-1-18, 472, ta.⁵⁴ 83-1-18, 472, tu-maš-ša di-en-ši-[na].⁵⁵ 83-1-18, 472 inserts u before ma-am-ma.⁵⁶ 83-1-18, 472, -šir te-ri-te-ši-na.⁵⁷ 83-1-18, 472, ru.⁵⁸ 83-1-18, 472, su-up-pu-ú su-ul-lu-ú ka-ra-bu.⁵⁹ 83-1-18, 472, šá.⁶⁰ 83-1-18, 472, om.⁶¹ 83-1-18, 472, sú.⁶² 83-1-18, 472, ri.⁶³ 83-1-18, 472, a-lu-šu.⁶⁴ 83-1-18, 472, ù.⁶⁵ Br. wrongly [tu]-nē-šur-šu.⁶⁶ ŠAKAN-LAL.⁶⁷ K. 3474, da(?). The first sign is probably ṣa, and not a.⁶⁸ K. 3474, amēl BAD.

COLUMN III.

1. [.] in (?) who levies excessively,
2. [.] the curse of men will reach him.
3. [.] he will be subject (?) to tribute,
4. [.] he will not have control over his son ;
5. Into a [.] his brothers will not enter,
6. [.] who plants grain in [.] will bring about great good.
7. He shall be well-pleasing to Šamaš, he shall prolong his life,
8. He shall increase his family, wealth shall he possess.
9. Like the waters of a perennial spring (his) seed [.],
10. In rendering gracious help he knows not [.].
11. He who searches into the things below (?) [.],
12. As for those who do evil, their seed shall not [.].
13. As for the boasting of their mouths, made in thy presence,
14. Thou shalt cause it to burn, that which issues from their mouths thou wilt interpret.
15. Thou hearest their transgressions, as for him who has done evil thou forgettest his judgment,
16. Everyone, whosoever it may be, is subject to thy hand.
17. Thou guidest their omens, those that are bound thou loosest,
18. Thou hearest, O Šamaš, supplication, petition, and prayer,
19. Homage, kneeling, whispering, and prostration ;
20. From the depth of his mouth the weak one cries out to thee.
21. The frail, the feeble, the wronged, the humble,
22. The woman in bondage (?) without ceasing prays to thee.
23. He whose kin are distant, whose city is far away,
24. [In] the shower of the field the shepherd prays to thee.
25. [. . .] (?) in disaster, the shepherd among enemies,
26. O Šamaš, he who goes his way in fear, prays to thee.
27. [.] the traveler, the tradesman, he who carries the weights,
28. [O Šamaš(?)] the hunter with the net prays to thee.
29. The hunter(?), the cattle-man, the tender of herds,
30. In the (?) the wise man prays to thee.
31. The robber, the thief, is an enemy of Šamaš ;
32. He who is overpowered [in] the road by the field prays to thee.
33. The dead man, the (?) , the robber, the destroyer,
34. O Šamaš, they have prayed to thee [.].
35. Thou dost not refuse those who have prayed to [thee],
36. To [.] O Šamaš, [.].
37. [.] O Šamaš, [.]

38. [.....]ka iṣ [.....] kit(?) [.....]
 39. [.....] te-rit⁶⁹-ši-na ina ni(?)-[...]-i aš-ba-[...]
 40. a-na šārē irba⁷⁰ ar-kāt-si-na ta-pār-ra-as
 41. kal si-ḥi-ip da-ād-me uz-ni-ši-na tuš-pat-ti
 42. ma-la kap-pa ni-ṭi-il inī [...] ul im-ṣu-ú ša-ma-mu
 43. ma-la ma-kal-ti ba-ru-ú-ti ul im-ṣa-a gi-mir-ši-na
 mātāte ^{pl.}
 44. i-na ūm niš-še ri-ša-ta il-la-ta ū ḥi-da-a-ti
 45. tak-kal ta-šat-ti el-la ku-ru-un-ši-na ši-kar si-bi-'-i
 ka-a-ri
 46. i-naḫ-ḫa-nik-ka ši-kar sa-bi-' ta-maḥ-ḫar
 47. ša-la-mu (lim)-na-a-ti⁷¹ [...] -nu a-gu-ú⁷² tu-še-zib
 at-ta
 48. el-lu-ú-tum⁷³ ib-bu-ú-ti sir-ki-ši-na tam-taḥ-ḫar
 49. ta-šat-ti mi-zi-'-ši-na kurun⁷⁴-na
 50. ṣu-um-mi-rat ik-pu-du tu-šak-šad at-ta
 51. šú-ut ik-kan⁷⁵-sa el-lit-si-na ta-paṭ-ṭar
 52. šú-ut ik-tar-ra-ba ik-ri-bi-ši-na tam-taḥ⁷⁶-ḫar
 53. ši-na ma pal-ḫa-ka uš-tam-ma-ra zik-ri⁷⁷-ka
 54. tar-ba-ti-ka i-dal-lal a-na da-r[i-iš(?)]
 55. šaḫ-la-a-ti ša li-ša-na da-bi-bu ṣa-[.....]
 56. ša kima irpāti^{pl.} la i-ša-a pa-na u [.....]

COLUMN IV.

1. šú-ut i-ba-' irṣi-tim⁷⁸ ra-pa-aš-ti
 2. šú-ut ú-kab-bi-su šadē ^{pl.}⁷⁹ e-lu-ú-ti
 3. ¹¹Luh-mu šú-[...] -ba ša ma-lu-ú pu-luḥ-ta
 4. e-ri-ib tāmtim ša apsi i-ba-'-ú
 5. mi-ḥir-ti nāri ša ir-te-du-ú ¹¹Šamaš ina maḥ-ri-ka
 6. a-a-ú-tu ḥur-sa-a-nu ša la lit-bu-šú ša-ru-ru-ka
 7. a-a-ta kib-ra-a-tum ša la iš-taḥ-ḫa-nu na-mir-ta urri-ka
 8. muš-par-du-ú e-ṭu-tum muš-na-mir uk-li
 9. pi-tu-ú ik-li-ti muš-na-mir irṣi-tim rapaš-tim
 10. mu-šaḥ-lu-ú ū-mu mu-še-rid an-kul-lu ana irṣi-tim
 ḫab-lu ū-me
 11. mu-šaḥ-miṭ ki-ma nab-li irṣi-tim ra-pa-aš-tum
 12. [mu]-kar-ru-ú ū-me mu-ur-ri-ku mûšē ^{pl.}⁸⁰
 13. [.....] ku-ṣu ḫal-pa-a šú-ri-pa⁸¹ šal-gi
 14. [.....]-gal ¹² sikkur⁸² šami-e muš-pal⁸³-ku-ú⁸⁴
 da-lat⁸⁵ da-ād-me

⁶⁹ Nottoberead lak, as Br.⁷⁰ Br. wrongly IM.DU.
BA, mazaltu.⁷¹ K. 3650, lim-na-ti.⁷² K. 3650, u.⁷³ K. 3650, ellāti^{pl.} ib-
bu-ti si-ir-ki-šu-nu read
tam-ta-[ḫar].⁷⁴ K. 3650, ku-ru-un-nu.⁷⁵ K. 3650, kam.⁷⁶ K. 3650, ta.⁷⁷ K. 3650, si-kir-ka.⁷⁸ K. 3650, ir-ṣi-ti rapaš-

[ti].

⁷⁹ K. 3650, šadi^{pl.}-e el-
lu-[ti].⁸⁰ K. 3474, mu-[še].⁸¹ K. 3474, pu.⁸² K. 3474, sik-kur.⁸³ Br. wrongly ti.⁸⁴ K. 3474, u.⁸⁵ Br. wrongly reads as a
dividing sign.

38. Thy [.].
39. [.] their omens in [.] they sat(?) [.],
40. To the four winds thou wilt scatter their hinder parts.
41. As for all who overthrow human habitations, thou wilt open their ears,
42. [(Cf. transliteration)] they shall not reach the heavens.
43. Though the communications of the seers be many, they shall not reach any of the countries.
44. In a day of making(?) merriment, joy and rejoicings,
45. Thou wilt eat, and drink their sparkling wine—a draught of sesame(?) wine from the cask
46. They will pour out for thee, a draught of sesame wine thou wilt accept;
47. [(Cf. transliteration)] thou savest,
48. Their sparkling and bright drink-offerings thou wilt accept;
49. Thou wilt drink their light wine and their wine,
50. The plans which they have in mind thou wilt prosper.
51. As for those who are bowed down thou wilt loose their bands;
52. As for those who do homage thou wilt receive their prayer.
53. Thy renown shall preserve those who fear thee,
54. He shall worship thy greatness forever(?).
55. The destructive things which he plans with the tongue [.],
56. Which like clouds have no face nor [.].

COLUMN IV.

1. As for him who comes to the broad earth,
2. Who treads the lofty mountains,
3. The god Luḫmu [.], he who is full of terror,
4. Who enters the sea, who penetrates the depths,
5. Who travels along the river, O Šamaš, in thy presence.
6. What mountains have not been clothed with thy radiance?
7. What regions have not sparkled with the brilliancy of thy light?
8. Thou who makest the darkness to shine, who makest bright the deep darkness,
9. Who uncoverest the gloom, who makest the broad earth bright,
10. Who makest the daylight, who bringest down the (?) to the earth in the midst of day,
11. Who makest the broad earth quiver like a sea of flame,
12. Who shortenest the days, who lengthenest the nights,
13. [.] cold, frost, sleet, snow,
14. [.] the bolt of the heavens, who openest wide the doors of the inhabited earth.

15. [.....] i⁸⁶ uppu⁸⁶ i⁸⁷ sikkatu i⁸⁸ namzaku i⁸⁹ aštartu
 16. [.....] la ba-ne⁸⁷ pa-ni ša-ri-ku⁸⁸ ba-lá^{89a} ṭi
 17. [.....] šal-la ina te-še-e ḳabal⁸⁹ mu-ú-ti
 18. [....] ṭe-me mit-lu-ku ši-tul⁹⁰-ti⁹¹ mil-[ku]
 19. [....]-pa-ri še-ri-e-ti ana⁹² nišē⁹³ rap[šāti⁹⁴]
 20. [.....] ku-us-si-i i⁸⁷ buraši-e⁹⁵ [.....]
 21. [.....]-na e-mu-ḳ[a(?)]
 22. [.....] li šar [.....]
 23. [.....] na(?) [.....]
 24. [.....]
 25. [.....] nam-ru šú-bat ta-ši-la-ti-ka
 26. [.....]-pi nap-tan kib-ra-a-ti
 27. [.....]-ku e-nu u ru-bu-u
 28. [.....] bi-lat-su-nu liš-šú-ka
 29. [.....]-ra ina⁹⁴ niḳē ḫi-ḡib mātāte
 30. [.....] parak]ki(?) -ka lit⁹⁵-te-di-iš
 31. [.....] š]a la in-nin-nu-u ki-bit pi-šu
 32. [.....]-tum ina bīt maiāli
 33. lik-bi-ka
 34. [..... ša]mi-e u irši-tim

⁸⁶ K. 3474, u]p-pi sik-
ka-ta nam-sa-ki aš-
tar-ta.

⁸⁷ Br. wrongly šú-pil.

⁸⁸ This is not gib, as Br.,
but ku

^{89a} K. 3474, la.

⁸⁹ K. 3474, ḳa-bal.

⁹⁰ Br. wrongly li.

⁹¹ K. 3474, ta.

⁹² K. 3474, a-na.

⁹³ K. 3182,]pal(?) e šar(?)[

⁹⁴ K. 3474, [i-n]a ni-ki-e
ḫi-ḡib ma-ta-a-ti.

⁹⁵ K. 3474, li-te-di-iš.

15. [. the key, the lock, the bar, the fastening,
16. [. dark of countenance, the giver of life.
17. [. in dissolution, in the midst of death,
18. [.] who pays heed to counsel, who considers advice.
19. [.] morning, to the numerous peoples,
20. [.] seats of cypress (?) [.]
21. [.]
22. [.]
23. [.]
24. [.]
25. [.] brilliant, the house of thy pleasures,
26. [.] feast of the regions,
27. [.] lord and prince,
28. [.] their tribute may he bring to thee.
29. [.] in sacrifices, the wealth of the lands,
30. [.] thy shrine (?) may he renew.
31. [.] the command of whose mouth cannot become void,
32. [.] in the bed-chamber
33. May he speak to thee.

34. [. heaven and earth.

[The colophon follows.]

A LETTER OF ŠAMAŠ-ŠUM-UKÎN TO HIS BROTHER SARDANAPALUS.

BY CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Among the cuneiform documents bearing upon the reign of Šamaš-šum-ukîn, king of Babylon, whose rebellion, though it ended in his defeat and tragic death, shook the Assyrian empire to its foundations and paved the way for its ultimate downfall, is a brief letter addressed by the Babylonian monarch to his brother Sardanapalus, king of Assyria. The text of this letter, which in the catalogue of the British Museum bears the number 80, 7-19, 17, was first published, in 1886, by Father Strassmaier in his *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, No. 6702.

Mr. Samuel Alden Smith, in April, 1888, republished the text, accompanied by an attempt at translation and a commentary, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (Vol. X, pp. 312 sq.). His translation, omitting the formula of greeting, is as follows: "Sin-balasu-iḫbi, honored (?) before my brother has backbitten. About it I have heard. May my brother imprison him until I shall come(?). The number of the Šitini to my brother I have sent." Professor Sayce's excellent remarks as to the desirability of paying due regard to the demands of common sense in translating cuneiform texts¹ apply here with full force.

Dr. C. F. Lehmann, who publishes the text in his monograph on Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Pl. XI), merely renders (ii, 58) the first six lines, which contain the usual formula of greeting, and frankly confesses his inability to understand the remainder owing to a number of obscure terms contained in it. He remarks, however, that Mr. S. A. Smith's rendering can hardly be considered satisfactory. Professor Peter Jensen, of Marburg, includes this letter among the texts of Šamaš-šum-ukîn translated by him in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Vol. III, i, pp. 204-7). He renders: "(As for) Sin-balatsu-iḫbi, the ḫannaku belonging to my brother, I have heard the charge against him. Let my

¹ *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. II, p. 175.

brother have patience until I decide (?) how (the matter stands) and announce the preservation of our life (our welfare) to my brother."² A footnote contains the explanation that the letter probably refers to an attempt at assassination, or at least to some seditious procedure, on the part of a certain Sin-balatsu-iqbi, directed against Sardanapalus and Šamaš-šum-ukîn, the punishment of which has been committed by the Assyrian monarch to his brother. Professor Jensen is doubtful as to the meaning of several words, and it is evident that he offers merely a tentative rendering.

The text has since been published in Professor Robert F. Harper's *Corpus Epistolarum* (No. 426), and it now seems possible to overcome the difficulties it presents by the aid of parallel passages to be found in Professor Harper's valuable work.

I would offer the following translation :

To the king my brother!
 Letter of Šamaš-šum-ukîn!
 A hearty greeting to my brother!
 May Bel, Belit, Nebo, Tašmet, and Nanâ bless my brother!
 Sin-balatsu-iqbi is here. I understand that a report concerning him will reach my brother. Let my brother wait until I make an investigation. I shall send my brother full particulars.

TRANSLITERATION.

Ana šarri aḫija!
 Duppu Šamaš-šum-ukîn!
 Bel, Belit, Nabû, Tašmetu u
 Nana ana aḫija likrubû!
 Sin-balatsu-iqbi ḫannaka. Ina pân
 aḫija dibbi ibāšî ina muḫḫišu. Assemî.
 Aḫû'a liqqâ adû aḫāraçāni. Mînu
 ša šitîni ana aḫija ašaparāni.

The letter must, of course, be referred to the period before the great revolt, when the royal brothers were on terms of at least external amity, and the situation would seem to be as follows :

Sin-balatsu-iqbi was apparently regarded by the Assyrian office of secret intelligence as a suspicious character, and Šamaš-šum-ukîn learns in some way that a report, probably reflecting on

² "Den Sin-balatsu-iqbi, den ḫannaku, der meinem Bruder gehörig—die Anklage, die gegen ihn vorliegt, habe ich gehört. Mein Bruder möge sich gedulden, bis dass ich entscheiden(?) wie (es damit ist) und unseres Lebens Erhaltung (Wohlergehen) (?) meinem Bruder melden werde."

his loyalty, was about to be sent to Nineveh. The king of Babylon, who may have had excellent reasons for desiring to protect the accused and to avoid an investigation, endeavors to forestall such action by undertaking to examine into the affair himself.

Who this Sin-balāṣu-iqbī was is not altogether clear, but sufficient material is extant upon which to base a very probable conjecture with regard to him.

According to Bezold's *Catalogue* (p. 1838) the tablet 82, 5-22, 131 contains part of a letter to the king concerning public affairs in the city of Erech, and mentions, among others, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Nabū-zer-iddina, Sin-balāṣu-iqbī, Kudurru, and Bel-ibnī, son of Nabū-kudurri-uṣur. The gulf district (māt Tamtīm) is also mentioned. Kudurru was doubtless the governor of Erech to whom Sin-tabnī-uṣur, governor of Ur, applies for reinforcements at the time of Šamaš-šum-ukīn's rebellion (see my *Epistolary Literature*, Part I, pp. 135, 148). This Kudurru had a son named Nabū-zer-iddina³ (K. 5457, obv. 14; Winckler's *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, p. 55). Bel-ibnī may have been the well-known general of Sardanapalus, who was governor of the gulf district about this time.

In another letter (83, 1-18, 21; Bezold's *Catalogue*, p. 1856), addressed to the king by Nabū-bel-šumāte, mention is made of Na'id-Marduk, Sin-balāṣu-iqbī, and Natānu, king of the Udda or Tadmā. It is possible that the writer of this letter, Nabū-bel-šumāte, may be the famous Chaldean adversary of Sardanapalus, whose uncle, Na'id-Marduk, was made king of the gulf district by Esarhaddon in 680 B. C. Yet another letter (K. 724 = Harper's *Letters*, No. 445) reads as follows: "Nabū and Marduk bless my lord the prince! Nabu-naṣir the chamberlain (?) reports that Sin-balāṣu-iqbī, son of Ningal-iddina, has sent by the charioteer one mina of gold to Sala . . . the prefect of the prince's . . . what is the pleasure of my lord the king?" Now, Ningal-iddina was the name of the loyal governor of Ur who was besieged by Nabū-zer-līšir in the first year of Esarhaddon, 680 B. C. He was undoubtedly the father of Sin-tabnī-uṣur, who probably succeeded him, and, at any rate, was appointed governor of Ur in the month of Ab, 651 B. C. (See my *Epistolary Literature*, Part I, p. 149).⁴ If, now, we can identify

³ He had another son named Nabū-šum-ukīn (Harper's *Letters*, No. 469, rev. 12).

⁴ Sin-tabnī-uṣur mentions his father Ningal-iddina in a letter (K. 1621 b, l. 11) published in Winckler's *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, Vol. II, p. 19.

the Sin-balāṣu-iqbī of Šamaš-šum-ukīn's letter as the son of Ningal-iddina and the brother of Sin-tabnī-uṣur, the situation becomes somewhat clearer. Sin and Ningal were the special local deities of Ur, and such a group of family names would tend to show a connection with the old aristocracy of the city. As a man of high rank, belonging to a noble family of southern Babylonia, the son and the brother, respectively, of two governors of Ur, Sin-balāṣu-iqbī would naturally possess considerable influence and would be in a position to render good service to the cause of Šamaš-šum-ukīn. As a matter of fact, Kudurru, governor of Erech, in a letter to King Sardanapalus states that he has received a message from Sin-tabnī-uṣur to the effect that an emissary of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, engaged in disseminating sedition through the country, has approached him with the view of engaging him in the treasonable design; that a portion of the district under his authority has already thrown off its allegiance; and that, unless reinforcements be promptly sent, he has the gravest fears for the result. Kudurru, in answer to this urgent appeal, has sent a force to his assistance (*Epistolary Literature*, Part I, pp. 148, 149). At this time, of course, Šamaš-šum-ukīn was in open revolt, but it may well be that the way for such a state of affairs had been prepared long before by men of the stamp of Sin-balāṣu-iqbī. Indeed, it is not entirely impossible that the latter, whose sphere of activity would naturally lie in the vicinity of Ur, may have been the very emissary of whom Sin-tabnī-uṣur complains. It must be admitted, however, that this identification of Sin-balāṣu-iqbī, while it seems probable enough, cannot be regarded as an established fact.

NOTES.

1. 4. Lehmann (*Šamaššumukīn*, Part II, p. 58) and Jensen (*KB.*, Vol. III, p. 206) read "Ašur," but it is quite clear that Belit should be read here; see Brünnow's *List*, No. 7337.

1. 8. ḥannaka is taken by Jensen as an official title. It is, however, an adverb. ḥannaka = annaka "here," just as ḥannū = annū "this." See my thesis, *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, Part II, pp. 56, 63, and the remarks of Rev. C. H. W. Johns, *PSBA.*, Vol. XVII, p. 237.

1. 9. It is possible, of course, to take ibāšī as present instead of future, in which case we should have to understand that the report had already reached Sardanapalus. The general sense, however, would not be affected.

l. 10. *Assemī* (written a-si-me) = *aštemī*; see Delitzsch's *Assyr. Gram.*, § 51, 2.

l. 11. *liqqā*. Harper reads here *li-ik-liš*, which does not agree with the context. Strassmaier's reading, *li-iq-qa*, is certainly correct. The form may be explained as standing for **liqūa* = **liq'a* = *liqqā*, with assimilation of *q* to *p*. See Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 582, and Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. III, p. 207, n.

l. 12. *aḫāraḫāni*. See my thesis (cited above), Part II, p. 64. To the examples there given may be added the following passage from Harper's *Letters* (No. 342, rev. 2-5): *šū ṭemu anni'u iḫ-tar-qa, iqtebānāši, ina muḫḫi šarri beliḫa nissapra* "he has gained this information, has reported to us, and we send (his report) to the king." See also Dr. Zehnpfund's note, *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, Vol. I, p. 502.

l. 13. The expression *mīnu ša šitīni* has not hitherto been explained. S. A. Smith renders "the number of the *Šitīni*." Jensen takes *ti*, in this passage, as an ideogram and reads *ša-lim balāṭīni*. Meissner, in his *Supplement* (p. 99), registers *šitīnu* (*sic!*) as a word "of obscure signification occurring in letters," and cites for it a number of passages. I believe that *šitīni* is infin. iteal of *še'u* "to seek" + the enclitic particle *ni*, and that *mīnu ša šitīni* means "whatever is to be searched out," "all that can be learned," or, more freely rendered, "full particulars." For a similar use of *ša* with the infinitive the following two passages may be cited: *anāku ša du'aki, ḫalqaku* "I am a dead man, I am ruined!" (Harper's *Letters*, No. 166, rev. 3, 4).—*ḫiṭu dannu ina biṭ beleḫa aḫteṭṭi; ša du'aki anāku, la ša bulluṭi anāku; Šarru belī rēmu ana kalbišu issakan. ina kōmi anāku mīnu ana šarri beliḫa ušallim* "I have sinned grievously against the house of my lords; I am worthy of death, I deserve not to be kept alive; (but) the king has shown mercy on his servant (literally, dog). What return can I make to the king my lord?" (K. 1201, obv. 3-7; Winckler's *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, Vol. II, p. 42). See Meissner's *Supplement*, under *daku*, p. 30. *Mīnu ša šitīni* seems to have been a standing phrase of frequent occurrence, which explains the fact that *ša* is sometimes omitted. The following examples are to be found in Harper's *Letters*: *mīnu ša ši-ti-i-ni*, No. 337, rev. 10; 467, rev. 9; *mīnu ša ši-te-i-[ni]*, No. 198, rev. 7; *mīnu ša ši-ti-ni*, No. 145, rev. 4; *mīnu ši-ti-ni*, No. 128, rev. 9, 11. *akī ši-ti-i-ni* (*ibid.*, No. 74, rev. 18) seems to have about the same meaning, though the passage is obscure.

STYLISTIC PARALLELS BETWEEN THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN AND THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY LOUIS H. GRAY,
Princeton University.

The style of the Ancient Persian inscriptions often reflects the influence of the older Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform texts. A brief statement of the most striking of these stylistic resemblances may be of interest both for Iranian scholars and for Assyriologists.¹ The parallels between the Assyro-Babylonian and the Old Persian inscriptions which are noted in this study are the more important since the tablets of the Achæmenians show almost no resemblance, either in style or in spirit, to the regal inscriptions of India, of which the oldest are those which were carved by order of Aśoka in the third century B. C.

Among the comparisons suggested in the present paper the most important are those which involve phraseology. But, for the sake of completeness, less significant resemblances, such as exhortations to uprightness, or invocations for heaven's blessing on the king, or descriptions of repairs to temples and of the construction of canals, and the like, have been cited, since, to the best of the present writer's knowledge, even these parallels, however natural they seem to be, exist only between the Assyro-Babylonian and the Old Persian inscriptions, and not between the Old Persian and the Indian tablets. It must not be supposed, however, that the Old Persian texts are a slavish imitation of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions. Many parallels may be drawn between the style of the Avesta and the style of the Old Persian monuments. Such comparisons have been made with great thoroughness by Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 121-5, and by Spiegel, *Éran. Alterthumsk.*, Vol. II, pp. 2, 3 (add also the parallelism between Dar. Elv. 1-4 and Ys. xxxvii, 1). They need not be

¹ In the present study reference is made to the editions of the Old Persian inscriptions by Spiegel (Leipzig, 1881) and by Weissbach-Bang (Leipzig, 1893), and the Babylonian version is quoted from the edition of Bezold (Leipzig, 1882). The Assyro-Babylonian texts are cited from the first three volumes of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1889-92).

repeated here. Beside all this there are two remarkable points of similarity between the Old Persian inscriptions and the inscriptions of Aśōka which have been noted by Senart, *Inscript. de Piyadasi*, Vol. II, pp. 296, 297. The resemblance between the Old Persian phrase, unknown to the Assyro-Babylonian texts, *θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya* "saith Darius the king," Babylonian *Dāri'amuš šarru ki'am iḫābī*, and the words of Aśōka, *Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āha* "thus saith Priyadarśī, beloved of the gods, the king"—a formula which does not occur in any other Indian inscriptions, so far known—is very striking. Again, the use of the Babylonian *duppu* "tablet" in the inscriptions both of the Achæmenidæ and of Aśōka (Old Persian form *dipi*; cf. New Susian *tuppi*, Aśōka-inscriptions *dipi*, *lipi*, Sanskrit [frequent] *lipi*) is, as Senart says, noteworthy. Perhaps the French scholar is not far wrong in seeing in these two stylistic parallels "une trace de l'influence exercée par la conquête et l'administration perses dans le nord-ouest de l'Inde" (p. 297). It is just possible that with the Old Persian use of *θātiy* "saith" we may compare the phrase which recurs times without number in the Avesta, *āaṭ mraoṭ Ahurō Mazdā* "then spake Ahura Mazda."

The terms applied to the divine beings are very similar both in the Old Persian and in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions. As *Ašur* is "the great lord, the king of all the great gods" (*Šalmaneser II.*, Annal-inscription, 1, 2), so *Ormazd* is "a great god, the greatest of gods" (*Van* 1, 2; see also *Dar. Pers. d* 1, 2). The Hebrew phrase, "For the Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords" (פִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הוּא אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וַיְהִי לַיהוָה הַלְלוֹתָם, *Deut.* 10:17), or "The Lord is greater than all gods" (גָּדוֹל יְהוָה מִכָּל־הָאֱלֹהִים, *Exod.* 18:11; cf. also *Exod.* 15:11; *Pss.* 82:1; 95:3; 97:7, 9, and consult C. de Harlez, "La religion persane" in *Révue de l'instruction publique en Belge*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 6), is very similar.

In the Babylonian inscriptions the heavens and the earth are ruled by *Šamaš* and the great gods, and they have made the king great (*Tiglath-Pileser I.*, Prism-inscription, col. i, 7, 15-18). Similar to this is the might of *Auramazda*, "the great god, who created this earth, who created yon heaven, who created man, who created peace for man, who made Darius king, the one king of many, the one lord of many" (*Dar. Elv.* 1-12; see also *Sz. b* 1-3,

NR. *a* 1-8, Xerx. Pers. *a* 1-6, *da* 1-8, *ca* 1-5, Xerx. Elv. 1-11, Van 1-9, Art. Pers. 1-8; and *cf.* Bh. i, 11, 12 [Old Persian text numbers]).

One of the most common phrases in the Old Persian inscriptions is *vašnā Auramazdāha* (Babylonian *ina ṣilli' ša Ūrimizda*) "by the grace of Ormazd," which occurs forty-eight times. A similar idea is found repeatedly in the Babylonian and Assyrian texts. Šalmaneser II. (Monolith-inscription, col. i, 32, 33; *cf.* 44) conquered Aḫuni with the help (*ina tukulti*) of Ašur and the great gods, and Ašurbanipal (Annal-inscription, col. ii, 127-9) marched against Aḫšīri, king of Mannai, at the bidding (*ina kibit*) of Ašur, Sin, Šamaš, Rammān, Bel, Nebo, Ištar, NIN-IB, Nergal, and Nusku (*cf.* also Tiglath-Pileser I., Prism-inscription, col. iv, 7; Ašur-nāṣir-abal, Annal-inscription, col. i, 76, 77; col. ii, 25, 26).

Admonitions to right conduct are occasionally found in both sets of inscriptions. We may, for instance, compare with the Nebo-inscription 12 of Rammān-nirāri III., "O descendant, trust thou in Nebo, trust in no other god!" the words of Darius (NR. *a* 56-60): "O man, let not the command of Ormazd seem offensive to thee! leave not the right way! sin(?) not!" (*Cf.* the Babylonian version, l. 35.) It has already been stated that the inscriptions of Darius I., Xerxes I., and Artaxerxes III. regard Ormazd as the source of royal power. The same idea is found in Sargon (State-inscription, 3, 4), "Ašur, Nabū, and Marduk have given me an incomparable realm," while it was a god (Lugal-Mit-TU?) who made the kingdom of Šamšu-iluna great (inscription of Šamšu-iluna, col. iii, 1).

Both the Ancient Persian and the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions contain prayers for the welfare and safekeeping of the monarch. Thus Nebukadnezar II. (Embankment-inscription, col. iii, 43-7) implores Nin-karrak: "Lengthen my days, establish my years, a gracious life, enjoyment of my strength be in thy mouth, prosper my soul, strengthen my body, guard my —, establish my seed." So, too, Xerxes prays: "May Auramazda with the gods protect me, and my kingdom, and my work" (Xerx. Pers. *da* 17-19; *cf.* Xerx. Pers. *a* 18-20, *b* 27-30, *ca* 12-15). With this supplication of Nebukadnezar we may compare the

² With the Babylonian *ṣillu* "shadow" as a translation of the Old Persian *vašna* "grace" compare the usage of the Hebrew שָׁדָה, *e. g.*, Ps. 91:1, where the Septuagint has σκῆπη.

invocation of Darius: "May Ormazd bring me help with all the gods, and may Ormazd guard this land from an (invading) horde, from drought, from the Lie; may neither an enemy, nor an (invading) horde, nor drought, nor the Lie come to this land. For this boon I implore Ormazd with all the gods;³ this may Ormazd with all the gods grant me" (Dar. Pers. *d* 13-24; cf. NR. *a* 51-5; there is no corresponding inscription in Babylonian; cf. Weissbach, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, Vol. II, p. 64; Justi, *ibid.*, p. 427, Anm. 2). In the days of the later Achæmenians, Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) associated Mithra with Ormazd in his petition (Art. Pers. *a* 32-5).

The epithets assumed by the monarchs are quite similar in both sets of inscriptions. We read repeatedly in the Achæmenian texts of "the great king, the king of kings, king of lands, king of this earth(?)" (Bh. *a* 1-3, Babylonian text), (even) "king of lands of all tongues, king of this earth, great, (even) far hence" (Xerx. Pers. *a* 7, 8, Babylonian text). With the Ancient Persian phrase *xsāyaθiya xsāyaθiyānām*, Babylonian *šar šarrāni*,⁴ one involuntarily compares the phrase מֶלֶךְ מְלָכִים of Dan. 2:37. Tiglath-Pileser I. is "the mighty king, the king of hosts, incomparable, the king of the four quarters of the world, the king of all rulers, the lord of lords, the king of kings" (Prism-inscription, col. i, 28-30; cf. Ašur-nāšir-abal, Annal-inscription, col. i, 32-6). Asarhaddon furthermore declares himself to be "king of Assyria, overlord of Babylon, king of Šumir and Akkad" (Prism-inscription, A and C, col. i, 1-2), and once again, as Darius (Bh. i, 4-6, *a* 5-8), Artaxerxes Mnemon (Art. Sus. *a* 1-3), and Artaxerxes Ochus (Art. Pers. *a* 12-21) proudly recount their genealogies, so Ašur-nāšir-abal (Statue-inscription, 2, 3) and Šamaš-šum-ukīn (Cylinder-inscription, 18-23) give their lineage in full detail.

Of all the passages in which the style of the Old Persian inscriptions shows Assyro-Babylonian influence, perhaps the most striking is Bh. iv, 69-80. The Old Persian text is to be rendered as follows (the Babylonian version, Bh. 105-9, is too mutilated to repay quotation here):

³ On my translation of the Old Persian phrase *hadā viθaibiš багаibiš* by "with all the gods" rather than by "with the clan gods" see *JAOS.*, Vol. XXI, Part II, pp. 181, 182.

⁴ The phrase "king (of Babylon and) of the lands" *šar (Babīlu u) mātāti* in the Babylonian tablets of the time of Cyrus, Cambyses, Bardia, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes is probably borrowed from the Old Persian style.

Saith Darius the king: Thou who hereafter shalt see this tablet which I wrote, or these figures, destroy them not; so long as thou livest, preserve them. Saith Darius the king: If thou shalt see this tablet or these figures, shalt not destroy them, and as long as (thy) house shall exist, shalt preserve them for me, may Ormazd be thy friend, and thy house be great, and mayest thou live long, and what thou shalt do, that may Ormazd magnify for thee. Saith Darius the king: If thou shalt see this tablet or these figures (and) shalt destroy them, and as long as (thy) house shall exist, shalt not preserve them for me, may Ormazd slay thee, and may thy house not exist, and what thou shalt do, that may Ormazd ruin for thee.

In the inscriptions of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings we find numerous examples of a similar idea whence the Old Persian phraseology was borrowed. On the reverse of the inscription of Rammân-Nirâri I. 9-43 we read thus:

For later times: When this city becomes old and decays, may a later prince repair its injuries, restore my tablet (and) inscription to its place. Then will Ašur hear his prayers. Whoso destroys my inscription and writes his own name (instead), and whoso removes my tablet, destines it to destruction, throws it in the flood, burns it with fire, sinks it in the water, covers it with earth, brings and puts it in —, a place of non-existence, and whoso sends for these accursed deeds(?) another enemy, a base foe, a hostile tongue, or anyone else, and takes away (the tablet), and whoso schemes and does aught, may Ašur, the exalted god who inhabits Ħarsagkurra, Anu, Bel, Ea, and Ištar, the great gods, the Igigi of heaven, the Anunaku of earth, seize him mightily with their hands, angrily curse him with an evil curse, destroy in the land him, his name, seed, his might, and family. May destruction of his land, annihilation of his people and his boundaries(?), proceed from their exalted mouth. May Rammân visit him with fearful rain, send on his land flood, evil wind, sedition, destruction, storm, oppression, famine, need, want(?), visit his land like a flood, make it rubble and fallow, may Rammân behold his land with the evil eye.

Many other passages of similar purport are found in the Assyro-Babylonian texts; *e. g.*, Prism-inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., col. viii, 50-88; close of Monolith-inscription of Ašur-nâšir-abal, 45-103; Prism-inscription of Sanherib, col. vi, 63-73; Annal-inscription of Rassam-cylinder of Ašurbanipal, col. x, 108-20. Some of these Semitic inscriptions have the curse only without the blessing. Such are the second inscription of Pudi-ilu, 5-8; Cylinder-inscription of Sargon, 75-7; Nebukadnezar I., i, col. ii, 28-60; Merodach-Baladan II., col. v, 18-47. In one instance

the blessing only is recorded without the curse (great cylinder from Abū-Habba of Nabonid, col. iii, 43-51).

The sentiment in these imprecatory passages reminds one involuntarily of the famous epitaph on Shakespeare's tomb:

Good frend for Iesus sake forbear,
To digg the dust enclosed heare:
Blest be ye man yt spares thes stones,
And curst be he yt moves my bones.

Both the Assyro-Babylonian and the Achæmenian kings recount their restoration of temples and construction of canals. Darius repaired the temples of the gods⁵ (*bītati ša ilāni*, Bh. 25; Old Persian *āyadanā*, Bh. i, 63) which Gaumates the Magian had destroyed, and Tiglath-Pileser I. "built the temple of Ištar of Ašur, my lady, the temple of Martu, the temple of the ancient Bel, the house of the divinity, temples of the gods of my city Aššur which were fallen to ruin, and completed them," etc. (Prism-inscription, col. vi, 86-90; see also col. vii, 60-114; Sargon, State-inscription, 137).

The building of canals is mentioned by Sanherib in the inscription of Bavian, 10-16:

I dug the water to the city Chadabiti, eighteen canals, and conducted it in the Chusur tributary. From the district of the city Kisiri to Nineveh I brought the canal. I let this water flow therein. I called its name Sanherib's Irrigation. I had before brought this body of water from the mountain Tas, a mighty range that lies on the border of Akkad, to my land. That canal, they called its name Canal —. Now, however, at the command of Ašur, the great lord, my lord, I added the water on the right and on the left of the range that bounds it (and ? the water ?) of the cities Mi—, Kuk—, Biturra, which were situated thereupon, in (a canal-bed of ?) stones; [this canal ?] I named Sanherib's Canal(?); above the — water and the former canal-bed which I had diverted, I conducted its course [into the Chusur-Canal ?].

(See also the Canal-inscription of Nabopolassar, col. ii, 4-14.) With this inscription of Sanherib we may compare the tablet of Darius at Suez, in which the Persian king informs us: "I commanded to dig this canal from a river named Pirāva which flows in Egypt to the sea which goes from Persia. This canal was dug" (Sz. c 8-10. No Babylonian version of this inscription exists).

⁵ Cf. on this Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 126, who notes that Darius uses the curiously similar phrase *קירתי-אלהים* in his decree recorded in Ezra 6:7, and the present writer, *JAOS.*, Vol. XXI, Part II, p. 180.

We may also note that much of the phraseology of the Old Persian descriptions of rebellions against the great king seems to have been borrowed from the Assyro-Babylonian texts. Tiglath-Pileser III. in Slab-inscription, 20, 21, says: "Sardaur(ri), of the land Urarṭu, revolted from me and plotted with Matian (Mati-ilu?). In the land Kišta(n) and the land Ḫalpi, a district of the city(!) Ḫummub, I destroyed him even to annihilation." In like manner Sargon says: "Ḫanunu, king of Gaza, together with Sib'u, turtan of Egypt, came against me at Rapiḫi to deliver combat and battle. I defeated him" (State-inscription, 25, 26). With such passages we may compare Bh. ii, 43-6: "For a third time the rebels assembled and marched against Dādarši to give battle. There is a city named Uhyāma in Armenia. There they gave battle. Ormazd brought me help. By the grace of Ormazd my army smote that rebellious army mightily." (The corresponding Babylonian text, Bh. 51, 52, is much mutilated here. The Babylonian equivalent of the Old Persian phrase hamaranam čartanaīy "to make battle" is ana epēš(u) taḫaza, Bh. 49, 50, 54, 55.) A further parallelism exists between the Assyro-Babylonian and the Old Persian inscriptions in the account of tortures inflicted by the monarch upon captured rebels. Thus Ašur-nāšir-abal in his Annal-inscription, col. i, 116—col. ii, 1, says: "I took many men alive; I cut off the hands and arms(?) of some, the noses(?) and ears (and arms) of others; I put out the eyes of many men; I erected one pillar of living men, another of heads; on — trees in the district of their city I put up their heads; their boys and girls I burned in the fire." A few lines farther on in the same inscription we read: "I took twenty men alive, hanged them on the wall of his palace" (col. ii, 72). In a similar spirit Darius informs us in Bh. ii, 73-8: "Fravartiš was seized and brought to me; I cut off both his nose, and ears, and tongue, and put out his eyes; he was held bound at my door; all the people saw him; then I crucified him at Ecbatana, and the men who were his foremost followers, I hanged them within the citadel at Ecbatana." (The corresponding Babylonian text, Bh. 60, 61, is too much mutilated to repay quotation here.)

A few minor points of similarity between the style of the Old Persian texts and the inscriptions of the Assyro-Babylonian monarchs may be noted in conclusion. Among these come lists

of kings and of cities. Šamši-Rammān speaks of Ni-na-a A-di-a Ši-ba-ni-ba Im-gur-Bīl Iš-šib-ri Bīt-im-dir-a Ši-mu Ši-ib-ṭī-ni-š Ud-nu-na Kib-šu-na Kur-ba-an Ti-du Na-bu-lu Ka-pa Ašur U-rak-ka Amat Hu-zi-ri-na Dūr-balaṭ Da-ri-ga Za-ban Lu-ub-du Arrapḫa Arba'-ilu adi A-mī-di Til-abni Hi-in-da-nu, which are "in all twenty-seven cities" (napḫar xxvii maḫazi, col. i, 45-50; cf. Rammān-Nirāri III., Slab-inscription, 2, 5-12). In a similar fashion Darius enumerates Pārsā Uvaḫa Bābiruš Aθurā Arabāya Mudrāya tyaiy drayahyā Sparda Yaunā Māda Armina Katpatuka Parθava Zarāka Haraiḫa Uvārazmiya Bāxtriš Suguda Gaḍāra Saka Ōataguš Harauvatiš Maka, which are "altogether twenty-three lands" (fraharvam dahyāva xxiii, Bh. i, 14-17; the Babylonian rendering here, l. 7, is lost; cf. also Dar. Pers. e 10-18, NR. a 22-30. With this latter passage we may also compare the Prism-inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., col. iv, 71-83).

Last of all there exists a parallelism, worth noting, although not altogether unknown before, between Xerx. Pers. a 6-9 and the apocryphal portion of Esther 3:13. The Old Persian text is rendered: "I am Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of lands of many races, the king of this great earth even afar" (cf. Babylonian version, 6-8). Closely parallel is the passage in the apocryphal Esther: βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτὰ χωρῶν ἀρχουσι καὶ τοπάρχαις ὑποτεταγμένοις τάδε γράφει· πολλῶν ἐπάρχας ἐθνῶν, καὶ πάσης ἐπικρατήσας οἰκουμένης, ἐβουλήθην, κτλ. (cf. also with Old Persian šiyāti "peace," Dar. Pers. e 23, *passim*, the phrase in this same passage, τὴν ποθουμένην τοῖς πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις εἰρήνην).⁶

The literary criticism of the Old Persian inscriptions is incomplete unless the influence which the Assyro-Babylonian tablets exercised over their style is taken into account. It is but natural that such an influence should have existed and that it should have been very strong. Yet the Achæmenian kings were not mere imitators. The spirit of the Old Persian texts is far

⁶ The inscription in Egyptian set up by Darius at Tell-el-Masxūṭah shows several stylistic parallels with the Old Persian texts (see the translation of the stele by Golénischeff, *Rec. de trav.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 106, 107). Thus, as "Ra put Darius on his throne," so "Ormazd made Darius king" (Sz. c 1-3). Not only is Darius, according to the stele, "(master) of all the sphere of the solar disc [i. e., the sphere traversed by the solar disc]," as he is "king of this great earth even to afar" (Sz. c 5, 6), but he is also "the great, the prince of princes, . . . the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian," both in the Egyptian and in the Old Persian texts (cf. Sz. c 5-7).

different from that which pervades the royal inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. Darius and his successors were too wise to ignore altogether phraseology which had been hallowed by many centuries of Semitic rule, but they were also too original to follow with absolute imitation the literary diction of another people. What was best for their purposes in their inscriptions the Achæmenian kings accepted; what was not suitable they laid aside, and with the fine combination of Semitic and of Aryan spirit the Old Persian inscriptions stand forth nobly among the oldest literary records of the Indo-Germanic race.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER'S ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS.¹

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON,
The British Museum.

It is now a little more than eight years since Professor Harper issued the first part of his large and comprehensive work on the Assyrian letters which were found in the famous Royal Library at Nineveh and are now preserved among the collections of the British Museum, where they form a valuable and extremely important section of cuneiform literature. The idea of publishing a complete set of epistolary texts was a good one, first because they were of great historical importance, and secondly because the publication of one section of Assyrian literature in a complete form would enable the student to make himself master of a set of grammatical rules and idioms, which could not be studied from the stereotyped narrative of Assyrian annalistic texts. Professor Harper's work is already very well known among Assyriologists and not a few Semitic scholars in general, so we have no need to weary our readers here with any prolonged series of details concerning it. It will be sufficient to say that the present part is the fifth of the series of the valuable texts which he has edited, and that it is in no way inferior in point of general interest to its four predecessors. Professor Harper is to be congratulated, not only on having secured an excellent subject upon which to work, but also on having recognized its true importance and on the careful way in which he has set out to do justice to it. Many will remember the time when students, such as Professor Delitzsch, Mr. Samuel Alden Smith, and others, edited small, well-written letter-texts; and in the early days of scientific Assyriology their fellow-students received their publications with thanks, notwithstanding the fact that they lacked arrangement, classification, and system. Letter-texts have always been favorite objects of study,

¹ ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS BELONGING TO THE KOUTUNJIK COLLECTIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D., Professor of the Semitic Languages in the University of Chicago. Chicago: *University of Chicago Press*; London: *Luzac & Co.*, 1900. Part V. xvi + 461-581 pp.

but this was due more to the fact that some scores of complete and well-written documents of the class existed than to any desire on the part of those who studied them to provide their readers with matter for work systematically arranged. The letters in the Kouyunjik Collection in the British Museum are several hundreds in number, and when Professor Harper undertook to make their contents known to the world, both by the publication of the original texts and by English translations of them, he set himself no light task. In the course of his work he found a very large number of fragments of letters, which he decided, and we think wisely, to include in his *corpus*, and it needs comparatively little study to find that the contents of such fragments fully justify his decision. Moreover, the information derived from one fragment supplements that found in another, and the identity of the scribe can often be established, even when his name is missing in the fragment. Curious expressions due to individual peculiarities of the writers, as well as unusual words and idioms, are also excellent clues as to the identity of unknown writers, but such minutiae of Assyrian epistolary composition could never have been traced without a comprehensive publication of letters, such as those with which Professor Harper now provides us. The student of these hundreds of texts will greatly appreciate the form which has been given to the edition; the texts are printed in Messrs. Harrison's excellent cuneiform type, and the leaves are printed on one side only. The usefulness of such a plan as this to the true student is indescribable, for it enables him when collating the printed copies with the originals to make notes, lengthy if necessary, on the forms of the characters, which his own readings may require. The use of type is of great assistance, even to the cuneiform expert, and it saves both his time and his eyesight. The reader of these observations will at once see their point if he will take the trouble to compare the text-publications of, let us say, Drs. Peiser and Winckler. We have no hesitation in saying that for ease in reading the original tablets are far to be preferred to their published copies of them.

In the fifth part of Professor Harper's work, now before us, we have the texts of one hundred and three Assyrian and Babylonian letters and memoranda, which brings the number of the documents of this class which he has published up to a total of five hundred and thirty-eight. They supply many interesting

details of the histories narrated in the official compilations of the old Assyrian governments, as well as considerable information as to the daily life of the subjects of the "Great King;" incidentally the texts are of the first importance for the study of Assyrian grammar. One letter (No. 524) is addressed to Sargon (B. C. 722-705); three (Nos. 534, 535, and 536) were written from Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Aššur-bāni-pal's rebel brother; one (No. 518) from the king; and one to the son of Aššur-bāni-pal (No. 469). Thirty-two deal with political, diplomatic, and official matters; ten relate to priestcraft, astrology, and religion; two to the transport of animals; and forty-five to matters of various kinds which we have no space to enumerate. The texts before us not only give us new material, but enable us to set straight certain misunderstandings which might easily arise in the mind of the student from the existing publications. One example of this will be sufficient. From Professor Harper's copy of No. 146 we see that there is no such place as Nagiu(?) or Nagiubirti-Akkad(?), which we find in the fifth volume of Dr. Bezold's *Catalogue* (p. 2132), and that what Dr. Bezold has regarded as a proper name is really only a description of the land Guriania; that the word na-gi-u actually means "district," and that the text gives ^{māṭu} na-gi-u birti Urarṭu "a district between Ararat," etc., and that Akkad has been misread for Urarṭu.²

The letters themselves are for the most part written by high officials, generals, and priests. One written by Ištar-šum-ereš, a royal astronomer, No. 519, gives a detailed explanation of certain astrological omens: "When Mars turned, it entered the midst of Scorpio; be not thou troubled(?) about thy watch (O King); the king on an evil day should not go forth from the gate. This quotation is not from any definite Series of Omens, but is a saying of the common people." Another, wanting the name of the writer (No. 469), was written to the son of Aššur-bāni-pal.

It is especially interesting to see more of the letters of such well-known generals as Bel-ibni and Aššur-rišua. The latter held a large command during the troubles on the northern border during Sargon's reign, and by examining his letters, and those of his contemporaries and coadjutors, we may glean a good deal of history. Several of the letters dealing with these events were translated by Rev. C. H. W. Johns, in the *Proceedings of the*

² See below, p. 166, note 7.

Society of Biblical Archæology, Vol. XVII, pp. 220 *sqq.* The campaign on the northern frontier was of considerable importance, and the texts in Professor Harper's latest volume, as well as some unpublished fragments, throw fresh light on the events which took place.

The Official Records of Sargon's reign state that Ursa, the king of Ararat, stirred up the Mannai and other northern tribes to revolt from Assyria; and the chief of the Mannai slew the legitimate heir to the throne, and set up one Ullusunū in his stead. The Assyrians marched against them, Ursa was defeated, and Ullusunū fled to the mountains, while his strong cities fell into Sargon's hands; the cities of the Andiai, a rebellious tribe, also fell, and the chief of the Zikirtai fled almost without striking a blow. Later on, Urzana of Muṣaṣir, who had trusted to the king of Ararat, was punished in like manner, and Ursa in despair committed suicide. If we compare the letter-texts, the story that they tell does not appear quite to coincide with the official account. The difficulty is to assign them to their proper chronological order; however, they appear to give this result: The northern tribes rose, and, under the king of Ararat, entered the city of ʾTuruṣpa; Ursa then set out for El-izzada in the month Nisan, while he detached a force under ʾKaḫḫadanu, his tartan, to Uesi. The approach of his force induced Urzana of Muṣaṣir, who had hitherto been friendly to Assyria, to join the northern coalition; but, while he was sending to negotiate with Ursa, the Kimmerians came into conflict with the army of Ararat and completely defeated it.

Let us take the letters in detail and see how they bear out the above short *précis*. Suspicion of the intrigues on the northern frontier has evidently reached the Assyrian king, for he counsels his officers in those regions to keep strict watch and ward over Ararat. Aššur-riṣua (No. 148) is directed to send a scout¹ to the city of ʾTuruṣpa, a city in Van, probably known to the Greeks as Thōspia, on Lake Thospitis. Aššur-ukin (No. 434), having been ordered to be vigilant, and to send to the base any casualties that may fall into his hands, now sends two from Mannai, one of them an officer, that they may be questioned about the news on the frontier. Gabbu-ana-Aššur (No. 123) is also directed to

¹ Daili, from dālu; cf. W.A.I., iv, 30*, obv. 16; alū ša kima šelab ali šaḫumeš ina muši idul atta "Thou art the alū which like a pariah dog prowleth furtively by night;" Syr. dāl = *se movit, tremuit*.

watch Ararat, to which end he sends messengers to the frontier outposts under the command of Nabu-mudu, Aššur-rišua, and Aššur-bel-danan. He has at last heard a rumor that the king of Ararat is in ʾTurušpa and will not advance farther at present. Certain news then reaches Sargon that the enemy is in ʾTurušpa, and an Assyrian force operating in that region has been captured. Aššur-rišua (No. 144) reports the capture of an officer and twenty men, and, further, the king of Ararat has entered ʾTurušpa, capturing Uršini, the second tartan.⁴ This appears to have been in the nature of a surprise; for the letter goes on to say that the brother of Uršini has gone off to make inquiries to see whether the Assyrian troops were fully equipped and prepared. With the advance of the king of Ararat the revolt spread like wildfire. ʾHutešupu (No. 215), in answer to Sargon's request for news of Ararat, declares he has heard nothing but treason and insurrection, and the Zikirtai have thrown off their allegiance to his royal master and are in open revolt. Aššur-rišua (No. 381), who is in command of a large garrison probably not far from Mušašir, reports that the Mannai have risen, and that the governors of Mušašir and Karsitu are proceeding to the Mannai borders to report on the movements of the hostile force, whose leader is still in ʾTurušpa, sacrificing for battle. Mušašir is undoubtedly the modern Mushakshir, to the west of Lake Van, while Karsitu is probably Garsit, on the southern edge of that lake.

In the month Nisan the king of Ararat made a further move southward. According to Aššur-rišua (No. 492⁵), in the beginning of the month, ʾKaḫḫadanu, the second in command of the hostile forces, was dispatched to Uesi, while the king himself went to El-izzada. Another officer reports to Sargon much to the same effect (No. 444), that five of the enemy's commanders have reached Uesi, among whom are Sitinu and ʾKaḫḫadanu, and

⁴ This is probably the reason for the absence of news from the second in command (ʾUršini), for which Aššur-rišua censures that officer (No. 382). It is possible that the fragment K. 883 refers to a check to the Assyrian arms, which perhaps should be inserted here; cf. obv. ll. 22 sqq.: *asapara ana mātu Manai ana mātu Masamua ina mātu Ḫaban am ḡabi ʾl. ibašši ultu libbi-šunu ultu mātu Manai naḡuni ummā šarru išaparan am ḡubtu ušaḡbit šarru bel-ni uda šummu šitu anaku šummu la epišu anaku uma ša ʾlu ḡalmat, etc., i. e., "I sent unto Mannai and Masamu; there are troops in Ḫaban, and some of these brought (word) from Mannai, thus: 'The king (of Ararat) hath sent, "I have made a capture."' The king, my lord, knows whether I am careless or lazy; now from the Black (ḡalmat) city, etc."* ḡalmat city was probably on the ḡalmat river; see further.

⁵ The tablet is broken at the beginning of l. 5, but I think we should read *šarru* for the first character.

the king of Ararat has left ʔurušpa for ʔaniun. Meanwhile the Assyrian army had been preparing to cope with the northern danger, and we find Aššur-rišua (No. 380) reporting that he has concentrated a brigade of three thousand infantry on the borders in readiness to march to Mušašir, and that they are already over the Black (Šalmat) river. In addition to these, there are also the troops of Sunai, the governor of the Ukkai. At the time of the sending of this report the king of Ararat was still in Uesi.

It is interesting to see what was going on among the rebellious tribes of the Zikirtai and Andiai. News reaches the king (No. 515), "in the matter of the news of Ararat;" the messengers of the Andiai and Zikirtai go to the city of Uesi and say, "the king of Assyria is against us."

If we turn to the few letters of Urzana, king of Mušašir, now extant, we find him professing loyalty to the Assyrian cause. In No. 409 he replies, in answer to a request for news of the hostile force, that the governors of Uesi and the Ukkai tribe have come to him in Mušašir to say that the king of Ararat has reached Uesi. Urzana goes on to say that he is aware that he has been told not to give safeguard to the enemy through his land. In an unpublished letter (S. 1056) he prays for the defeat of the foes of the king (of Assyria). A broken letter, perhaps from Sennacherib (S. 96, perhaps part of Rm. 978), confirms the truth of the journey of the governor of Uesi to Mušašir. It is probable that it was about this time that Sennacherib, the son of Sargon, was appointed as commander-in-chief of the northern armies operating against Ursa. A note (No. 448) shows that the troops of Mušašir are stationed in Siḥana of Mas, though whether they are still faithful to Assyria is difficult to say. Then comes the news that the army of Ararat is over the border (K. 1120, unpublished).⁶ A new danger at once threatens Ararat. The army of Ararat comes into conflict with the Kimmerians, and suffers a serious defeat. From all sides reports reach the Assyrian base to this effect: Paḫir(?) - Bel tells some staff officer, who forwards his message (Rm. 554, unpublished), that Urzana (the king of Mušašir) has told him that "the king of Ararat, after he had gone to Gamir, his army was defeated and the governor of Uesi slain." Sennacherib, who is in receipt of all the dispatches of

⁶Obr. II. 4 sqq.: mā am e-mu-ḫi ša mātu Uraṯi ina eli taḫume itaḫ-kani, etc.

the commanders on the frontier, gives a résumé of their reports (No. 197): The Ukkai regiment states that the king of Ararat invaded Kimmeria, but was defeated; Aššur-rišua says that the land is now quiet, the king is now in Uašun (possibly the modern Wastan, on the southeastern edge of Lake Van), but ẖaḫḫadanu, the tartan of Ararat, was captured; Nabu-Mudu also says that the Kimmerians defeated the king of Ararat. The letter goes on to say that the people of Mušasir and Ḫubuškia have gone to arrange an alliance with the king of Ararat, and this is probably a reference to Urzana's defection from Assyria. However, it is unlikely that he would knowingly ally himself to a defeated force, and we must suppose that he had not heard of the success of the Kimmerians.

The letter-tablet 79-7-8, 292 (unpublished) gives an account of the slaying of nine hostile commanders, among whom are those operating against the writer, against Ša-Aššur-gubbu, and around Mušasir and Uašae (*sic*), and mentions Ararat (obv. 2). It goes on to say that "their king took to the mountains alone." In another unpublished fragment (K. 1111) the writer says that one Irnia, an officer of ẖaḫḫadanu, relates a tale of disaster.

Another notice of the defeat of Ararat by the Kimmerians is to be found on No. 146 from Aššur-rišua, obv. ll. 5 *sqq.*: "The land Guriania, a district' between Ararat and Gamirra, gives tribute to the people of Ararat: when the people of Ararat had gone against Gamirra, and when defeat had been inflicted upon the people of Ararat" Sennacherib makes further mention of the king of Ararat on No. 198, but it is not easy to make connected sense of his report.

The main difficulty in dealing with historical letters of this class is, as has been said before, the uncertainty of the chronological order; and the internal evidence of the letters themselves very often gives no clue. But nothing complete can be done in this direction until the whole of the Kouyunjik letters are published. It is much to be hoped that Professor Harper will finish the great work he has undertaken, and then give us the translations with vocabularies and lists of proper names.

¹ (5) mātu Gu-ri-a-ni-a mātu na-gi-u (6) bir-te mātu Uraṭi bir-te mātu Ga-mir-ra, etc. This is obviously the right way to translate this phrase, and not as Bezold has it, *Catalogue*, Vol. V, p. 2132, col. i (under Nagiu): "Nagiu (1 or Nagiubirti-Akkad?). Country?" Birti "between" is used very much in the same way as the Hebrew bēn. Since Professor Harper's publication of this tablet I have joined a small fragment to it (K. 12992), which mentions eight thousand (soldiers?), rev. 3.

Many will read with regret the protest which Professor Harper feels compelled to make against the treatment which the documents in the British Museum have received at the hands of certain Assyriologists, whom he deliberately accuses of having "often scratched signs in such a way as to make them read as they thought they should." Such a proceeding is, of course, in itself monstrous, especially as it removes from future workers all possibility of ever discovering the true reading, and we cannot help feeling that it represents an attempt to compel every reader of the tablet to agree with the views of the person who adopted such a disingenuous method of perpetuating his own misreading of the signs. Here we must take leave of a volume in which we have a number of most valuable texts carefully copied and well printed, with the hope that the future parts of the work will appear as fast as the editor's professorial duties will permit.

Contributed Notes.

LEXICAL NOTES.

שֹׂמֵר, Amos 1:11.

The last half of Amos 1:11, from וַיִּטֹּר on, has created some difficulty. Pesh., Vulg., Olshausen, Wellhausen, Driver, Nowack read therefore, instead of וַיִּטֹּר "and his anger *tore* perpetually," וַיִּשָּׂר "and he *retained* his anger perpetually;" this would make it parallel with שֹׂמֵרָה in the next line. Instead of שֹׂמֵרָה נ' they read either שֹׂמֵרָה לנצח or שֹׂמֵר לנצח "his wrath he kept (it), i. e., nursed, cherished (it) forever."

But the figure of the anger as tearing, "rending its victims like some wild animal," is not so startling in such a vigorous prophet as Amos; besides, it occurs in Job 16:9. And then, it is not at all necessary to regard the הָ in שֹׂמֵרָה as suff. fem. referring back to עֲבָרָתוֹ, and the subject as being Edom. It is quite natural to translate:

"His anger tore perpetually,
while his fury watched forever."

It may be objected—and justly so—that the parallelism between the ever-tearing anger and the watchful wrath, which is always quick to see an opportunity to break loose, is not close enough.

Here the Assyrian comes to our aid. In Assyrian we have a root שֹׂמֵר meaning "to be impetuous, violent, wild, to rage," etc.; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *HWB*. Now, I think it is very probable that we have the same root in Hebrew, so that, instead of supplying אָפַר in passages (e. g., Jer. 3:5) where the context requires for שֹׂמֵר the meaning "to be angry," we have the root שֹׂמֵר meaning "to be angry, to rage," as in Assyrian. The root is not borrowed from the Assyrian, but is a common Semitic root; but the Assyrian has now pointed it out to us.

So I would translate here, pointing שֹׂמֵרָה,

"His anger tore perpetually,
while his fury raged forever."

The powerful pictures are in a wonderfully harmonious parallelism. This suggestion has, so far as I know, never been made before. It explains the two lines much more forcibly than the emendation, which changes the strong verb טֹרַף into the weaker נָטַר—without explaining how the נ is to be accounted for—and then, to harmonize the second line with this, changes the text again.

אָרָה, Deut. 33:21.

The clause in the second half of the verse **וַיִּתֶּן רָאשֵׁי עָם** is so difficult that Driver, *ad loc.*, says: "The text can hardly be made to yield a tolerable sense." It is true, if **אָרָה** means here "to come." For it is easily seen that the translation "he came (to ?) the heads of the people" gives no sense in the context where it stands. Besides, the accusative of the person with **אָרָה** is difficult; *cf.* Driver, *ad loc.* No plausible emendation has been offered yet, so far as I know.

All difficulties disappear, if we take for **אָרָה** the meaning which the corresponding Assyrian verb *atû* has, "to see, to look out, to choose." We get a fine parallelism and a very good sense:

"And *he looked out* a first part for himself,
For there a commander's portion was reserved:
And *he chose* (looked out) the heads of the people,
He executed the righteousness of Yahweh
And his ordinances with Israel."

No better parallelism than between **וַיִּרָא** and **וַיִּתֶּן** can be desired; and the sense is as good as can be wished. The strong military tribe Gad receives a portion which is worthy its position as commander. His office as a commander is described in "and he chose the heads of the people," etc.¹

אָשֵׁר, Isa. 1:17.

The versions take **הַמְּבִיץ** in **אֲשֶׁרֶי הַמְּבִיץ** as *part. pass.*, "the oppressed." Now, while it is perfectly possible to regard **הַמְּבִיץ** as *part. act.* (*cf.* **עָשִׂיךְ**, Jer. 22:3, which can be nothing else but active), the whole connection favors the passive meaning. But then **אָשֵׁר** in the meaning "to lead" is difficult. I suggest to compare the Assyrian **אָשֵׁר** "to take care of someone" and to translate with the LXX, *ῥύσασθε δδουκόμενον* "take care of (protect) the oppressed" (*cf.* R. V.). It is not altogether necessary to punctuate **הַמְּבִיץ**, though one may do so.

This derivation of **אָשֵׁר** seems to me to fit here better than the derivation from **אָשֵׁר** pi. "to lead."

One may, of course, derive **אֲשֶׁרֶי** from **אָשֵׁר** pi. "to esteem happy;" *cf.* **אֲשֶׁרֶי** and compare Assyrian **אָשֵׁר** "jemandem Heil widerfahren lassen, jem. begnadigen" (Delitzsch, *HWB.*), and translate "make the oppressed happy." But this does not express, according to my judgment, the shade of meaning required by the context. I do, however, believe that this root and the root meaning "to take care of" are identical. Delitzsch, *HWB.*, derives them also from the same root in Assyrian.

¹ It may be, though it is by no means certain, that the Hebr. **אָרָה** "sign," Aram. **אָרָה**, Syr. **ܐܪܗ**, Assyrian *ittû*, is connected with this root **אָרָה** or **אָרָה** "to see." The meaning of **אָרָה**, etc., would point in this direction, but there is no certainty about it.

זָר, Isa. 1:7 (and often).

That the sense of "strangers" for זָרִים does not fit in many passages has been seen long ago. The meaning "enemy" is required, and we must compare the Assy. zāru זָר "to hate," zā'iru "one who hates," "enemy." Compare נָכַר "to be a stranger," Assy. "to be an enemy." Also compare נָרַר.

רִגְמָה, Ps. 68:28.

That רִגְמָה here has nothing to do with רָגַם "to stone," and thus a stone heap, therefore a crowd of people (!), is plain. But it is not necessary to change it into רִגְשָׁם in order to get the meaning "humming crowd," as Hupfeld, Cheyne, *et al.* do. For the Assy. rigmu "Geschrei, Ruf, Getöse" (Delitzsch), from the root ragāmu רָגַם "to cry, to call," shows that we have in the corresponding Hebrew word רִגְמָה exactly the meaning which the context requires. Compare רָמַן.

פָּחָה, Isa. 42:22.

I would suggest to compare it with Assy. pihā פָּחָה "verschliessen" (Delitzsch), and to translate "locked up in prisons are they all together." This is favored by the context and parallelism. That פָּחָה = פָּחָה cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 30.

JULIUS A. BEWER.

BERLIN.

NOTES ON SOME PASSAGES IN AMOS.

3:12.

A. V., R. V., Targ., Vulg., LXX connect בָּפֶאֱת מִטָּה וּבְדַמְשֵׁק עִיר with דֹּשִׁיבִים בְּשִׁמְרִין; so also modern commentators (Wellhausen, 1893; Driver, 1897; Nowack, 1897). No satisfactory interpretation can thus be elicited. Wellhausen (p. 75) suspects that "in dem corrupten דַּמְשֵׁק selber das nothwendige Analogon zu בָּפֶאֱת steckt;" in that case the connection mentioned will presumably have to be given up. The authors of the accentuation, with a fine instinct, certainly connect the last four words of the verse with יִנְצְלוּ (the זָקָה marks off דֹּשִׁיבִים as parenthetical). Read יִנְצְלוּ (cf. Kimḥi; the ד is not "pleonastic," but a misread and therefore repeated ב; similarly the מ is a repeated ש; we have, of course, the Old Hebrew characters in mind). The ב is the ב of accompaniment (Briggs-Brown-Driver, s. v., III, 1b; compare especially Arabic usage). Hence יִנְצְלוּ means "escape with, save, rescue" (del. in the *Lexicon*, p. 664, b, "be torn out or away;" מִפִּי is incorrectly supplied; rather הָאֵיב). שׁוֹק עִיר is certainly possible; compare פָּרִיעָה דַּרְסָה, Levy, II, p. 415, b; Jastrow, p. 673, a; also רָגְלֵי הַשְׁלָחָן Exod. 25:26 (observe also in the same

verse (פֶּאוֹת הַשְּׁלֶחֶן). Translate: "So shall the children of Israel that dwell in Samaria rescue the corner of a couch, and the leg of a bed." The corner of a couch, the leg of a divan—this is all the people of Samaria will have left to them.

מִשֶּׁק Gen. 15:2 and מִשֶּׁק Zeph. 2:9, which are compared by Ibn Ġanāḥ, will best be left alone. The former is textually uncertain (Ball, 1896; Holzinger, 1898). The meaning of the latter is no less dubious (see the lexica and commentaries). Grätz' emendation adopted by Nowack is too ingenious to be true. If there be at all a textual error, it does not lie in מִשֶּׁק, which is lexically an unknown quantity ("breeding," A. V., perhaps nearer the truth than "possession," R. V.; see the reference to Schwally in Briggs-Brown-Driver, which I am unable to verify), but in מִלֵּחַ, for which read מִלֵּחַ (or מִלֵּחַ, i. e., merely with different vowels; the word occurs Job 30:4, Ḳidūšān, 66a and elsewhere; for the meaning see Löw, *Pflanzennamen*, p. 338), with Peš. (see also Targ., which renders by the same word the parallel דְּרוֹר).

4:3.

Λαοί LXX presupposes פְּרָצִים; cf., e. g., Ezek. 18:10.

4:5.

For וְקָרָא בַּחוּץ read, in part with LXX, וְקָרָא בַּחוּץ. Translate: "Call out in the streets, Thanksgiving!" The repetition of קָרָא in the part immediately following is no obstacle; compare the repetition of פָּשַׁע in vs. 4. Thus we get rid of the leaven which in Lev. 7:13—notice the difficulty of construction—yet remains to be accounted for.

5:6.

יִצְלַח is translated "flame up," "be kindled" in LXX, Peš., Targ. What appears at first sight to be a mere guess (the verb elsewhere means "to prosper, succeed, be fit; alight(!)" in Aramaic also "to split;" cf. Ibn Ezra Ḳimḥi) is now corroborated by Ecclus. 8:10, where ἡμῶν corresponds to Hebr. אֵל תִּצְלַח (JQR., April, 1900, p. 468; "do not enjoy," in the translation on p. 473, is certainly wrong; צַלַּח has nowhere that meaning; moreover, the Greek translator had in his manuscript the correct reading, בְּנִחְלָת with בָּנִי. Of course, read בָּאֵשׁ (so Nowack). Grätz' emendation יִשְׁלַח (cf. 2 Sam. 19:18, where Lucian has שִׁלַּח for our שִׁלַּח!), "nicht eben ansprechend," is certainly now still less plausible.

MAX L. MARGOLIS.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Book Notices.

DELITZSCH'S ASSYRISCHE LESESTÜCKE.¹

The present volume is the first of a series which is planned to introduce the student into the various branches of Assyrian and Babylonian literature. The old title, *Assyrische Lesestücke* = *ALS*,¹ has been retained because of the delay necessary to the preparation of Part III. The title of the series will be *Keilschrift-Chrestomathie*, I, II, III, etc.

There are many changes from *ALS*,² and it is important to note the contents of this volume: Elements of the Grammar, pp. ix-xii. I. Schrifttafel, pp. 1-40. II. Texts, pp. 41-148. A. Assyrian Texts. I. Historical: (1) Prism of Tiglathpileser I., cols. iv. 43-v. 32 and vii. 36-75; (2) Annals of Shalmaneser II., XVIIIth year; (3) Genealogy of Adadnirari III.; (4) Annals of Sargon II., XIth year; (5) The Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib; (6) Cylinder A of Esarhaddon, col. iii. 25-52; (7) Cylinder B of Esarhaddon, col. i. 1-25; (8) Ašurbanipal, Rassam Cylinder, cols. v. 90-vi. 29, and vi. 96-124. II. Other Unilingual Texts: (1) The Three Hunting Inscriptions of Ašurbanipal; (2) Ištar's Descent into Hades, obv. 1-24; (3) Letters (K. 551, 82-5-22, 1396, K. 1396, 83-1-18, 6, K. 504, K. 11, K. 507, 83-1-18, 14, Bu. 89-4-26, 161); (4) Astronomical Reports (four in number); (5) Prayer to Marduk (21 lines); (6) The so-called Sabbath Law. III. The so-called Syllabaries: (1) Syllabary S^a; (2) Syllabary S^b; (3) Selections from other Syllabaries and Vocabularies. IV. Bilingual Texts: (1) Paradigms and Short Sentences; (2) The Names of the Months; (3) Laws; (4) Incantations; (5) Proverbs. B. Babylonian Texts, introduced by a List of Signs. I. Historical Texts: (1) The Babylonian Chronicle; (2) The Ašurbanipal Text, K. 891; (3) The Borsippa Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar. II. Contracts and Letters. III. Glossary.

This fourth edition marks a great advance on the third, which appeared in 1885 when Peiser, Alfred Jeremias, Johann Jeremias, Meissner, Craig, Price, Davis, and myself were students under Delitzsch in Leipzig. The third was at that time as great an improvement on the second. Many students have been introduced to Assyrian through these three editions, and to many instructors and students this fourth edition will prove a boon. This book in its four editions represents the progress in the study

¹ASSYRISCHE LESESTÜCKE mit grammatischen Tabellen und vollständigem Glossar. Einführung in die assyrische und babylonische Keilschriftliteratur bis hinauf zu Hammurabi für akademischen Gebrauch und Selbstunterricht. Von Friedrich Delitzsch. Vierte durchaus neu bearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1900. xii + 193 pp.

of Assyrian during the last twenty-five years. It is scarcely necessary to say that Delitzsch has done well what he intended to do. The *Schrifttafel* has been revised and enlarged. The Syllabaries have been recollated, and they should now be studied in connection with the excellent edition prepared by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson and published in Part XI of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, edited by Dr. Budge. There are more texts than in any of the previous editions, and the glossary is complete.

The glossary is perhaps the most interesting portion of the volume, and we shall note a number of his readings. Abtāti, Neb. Bor., ii. 10 and 13, receives better treatment than in *HWB.* 120a under aptāti. In l. 13 Delitzsch corrects the text after Neb., Winckler-Abel, iii. 29, and instead of kitirri (*HWB.*) and kiliri (*KB.*, III, 2, 54-55) reads kišēri abtāti = *Neubau der Ruinen*. Aḥamu is like ēlamu in formation with suffixed *m*; cf., however, *DG.* 221 and Haupt, *GGN.*, 1883, 101, rem. 5. Azzaru (צצר), Senn. iii. 29, Delitzsch translates *Verbrecher, Schuldbeladener* and compares צר(ר) (?). In Senn. ii. 72 he accepts Zimmern's reading anzilli = *Missethat, Frevel*, instead of anḡilli. On account of iii. 21, I am still inclined to accept the latter reading. Again, la nēḥa instead of la a-ne-ḥa seems very doubtful in the light of Flemming's remark, *Dissertation*, p. 25, 11. Is annūrig (rig = rēgu, רִג) preferable to annūši = ?

Delitzsch has accepted S. A. Smith's translation of burku = *Knie* as against his former reading, *Verwahrung*, *BAS.*, II., 21; cf. Meissner, *SAW.*, and my remarks in *AJSL.*, Vol. XIV, p. 179. For lintuḥ √ לִנְח cf. Meissner, *SAW.*, p. 61a; Arnolt, *DAL.*, pp. 621, 622. Father Dellatre in *PSBA.*, Vol. XXII, No. 8, pp. 302 sqq., translates this Letter, H. 178, and discusses burki and lintuḥu at some length. His translation of rev. 1-6 is: *Grâce au service Bilit-parçi, puissent les petit-fils du roi mon maître blanchir sous sa protection (la protection du roi).*

Diḡtu = damiḡtu in the Letter Literature is of frequent occurrence. A good passage for this usage is Rm. 76, H. 358, a Letter from Ramman-šum-uḡur to the king, obv. 29 to rev. 6: "a-ki ḥa-an-ni-ma "ilāni rabūti ša šame-e irḡi-tim " 'ḡa-ab-tu di-iḡ-tu a-na li-ip-li-pi 'ša šarri be-ili-ia a-du šame-e irḡi-tim 'da-ru-u-ni li-pu-šu a-ki da-ba-bu an-ni-u ḡābu ip-ši-tu an-ni-tu di-iḡ-tu ša šarru be-ili e-pu-šu-u-ni aš-mu-u-ni a-mur-u-ni lib-bi i-ḡi-ba-an-ni.

Hūlu = *Weg, Strasse*; cf. Johnston. Delitzsch in the gloss, 83-1-18, 4, rev. 17, reads ḥu-li instead of ḥu-u-li, H. 406.

For kusāpu, *Bissen, Brocken* (?), cf. Johnston, "On a Passage in the Babylonian Nimrod Epic," *AJSL.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 30-36, where he translates *food, meal*, in connection with the two letter-texts, 82-5-22, 174 (H. 341) and K. 569 (H. 78).

Is Senn. v. 42 to be read adē? Šūzubi ikrubū, *sie huldigten dem Befehl des Š.* = *sie unterstellten sich seinem Oberbefehl* (?) ?

Delitzsch is inclined to read $la = \text{𐤋}$ in the Letter, 83-1-18, 6 (H. 421), obv. 11, and in obv. 14 he is inclined to make the la a phonetic complement to $amēlu$. I prefer Johnston's treatment of this Letter in *JAOS.*, No. 20, pp. 251, 252, where he discusses $pāgu$, to take away, and gives a résumé of the contents. Delitzsch makes $pigtū = \text{פִּיגְטוּ} (?)$, bitten um etwas, oder zurückfordern(?). The following transliteration of this Letter may be added to Johnston's résumé: ^{obv.} $^1a-na \text{ } \text{šarri} \text{ } bēliia \text{ } ^2ardi-ka \text{ } Marduk-šum-uḡur \text{ } ^3lu-u \text{ } \text{šul-mu} \text{ } a-na \text{ } \text{šarri} \text{ } bēliia \text{ } ^4Nabū \text{ } Marduk \text{ } ^5a-na \text{ } \text{šarri} \text{ } bēliia \text{ } lik-ru-bu. \text{ } ^6Abi-šu \text{ } \text{ša} \text{ } \text{šarri} \text{ } bēliia \text{ } ^7X \text{ } IMĒR \text{ } \text{ŠE-KUL} \text{ } ina \text{ } mat \text{ } \text{Ḥa-laḥ-ḥi} \text{ } ^8it-ta-na. \text{ } XIV \text{ } \text{šanāti} \text{ } ^9eḡli \text{ } a-ta-kal. \text{ } ^{10}Me-me-ni \text{ } is-si-ia \text{ } la \text{ } id-di-bu-ub. \text{ } ^{12}U-ma-a \text{ } amēl \text{ } paḡātu \text{ } ^{13}la \text{ } mat \text{ } Maš-ḡal-zi \text{ } it-tal-ka. \text{ } ^{14}Amēlu \text{ } la \text{ } iḡ-te-si \text{ } ^{15}bīt-su \text{ } im-ta-ša- \text{ } ^{16}eḡli \text{ } ip-tu-ak. \text{ } ^{17}Šarru \text{ } be-ili \text{ } u-da \text{ } ^{18}ki-i \text{ } mus-ki-nu \text{ } ^{19}a-na-ku-u-ni \text{ } ^{20}ma-ḡar-tu \text{ } ^{21}ša \text{ } \text{šarri} \text{ } bēliia \text{ } ^2a-na-ḡar-u-ni \text{ } ^3lib-bi \text{ } ēkalli \text{ } ^4la \text{ } a-ši-ṡu-u-ni. \text{ } ^5U-ma-a \text{ } eḡlu \text{ } pi-ḡa-ku. \text{ } ^6Šarra \text{ } at-ta-ḡar. \text{ } ^7Šarru \text{ } be-ili \text{ } ^8di-e-ni \text{ } li-pu-uš \text{ } ^9ina \text{ } bu-bu-ti \text{ } lū \text{ } la \text{ } a-mu-at.$

I am inclined to think that we should read $lidiš$ instead of $lidiš$; cf. K. 5291 (H. 317), obv. 19 to rev. 1, and my note in *AJSL.*, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 143, 144.

In Cyl. B. of Esarhaddon, col. i, l. 2, Delitzsch reads $ni-pi-sa$. I read so in 1885, but I think the sa is very doubtful. In the same text, l. 15, he has accepted my reading $si-si-in-ni$, which was supported by Haupt in *BAS.*, I, 167, †. In l. 9 he still reads ga instead of gir , although Haupt made a special examination of the text with Pinches and confirmed my reading.

For $paššūru$, *Schüssel*, *Schale*, I prefer Haupt's treatment, *BAS.*, I, 161, where he translates *Tisch* and compares the Aramaic פִּתְרָא. Again, Berry's reading $magarru$ rather than $mašāru$, *Rad*, seems preferable; cf. *AJSL.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 50, 51.

One notes many new readings even in historical texts, and it is safe to say that most of them will meet with favor. In many places Delitzsch has changed his readings since the appearance of his *Handwörterbuch*. From the standpoint of text and lexicon this edition is much superior to the others.

Part I will be welcomed by both instructors and students, and it will be the hope of all that Delitzsch may be spared to complete his *Keilschrift-Chrestomathie*.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF ḤAMMURABI.¹

These volumes constitute one of the most notable contributions recently made to Assyriological science. From every point of view they

¹ THE LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF ḤAMMURABI. Edited by L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A. (Lusac's Semitic Text and Translation Series.) In three volumes. Vols. I and II, Texts. Vol. III, English Translations, etc. London: Lusac & Co., 1898-1900. lxviii and xviii pp., 244 plates; pp. lxxi, 335.

reveal the work of a scholar who is thoroughly capable in the realm of copying texts, who spares no pains to reach the whole truth, and whose statements on matters of controversy and uncertainty are cautious and sane. Mr. King has not, indeed, evolved a multitude of theories which are intuitions of genius; but he has likewise heralded no startling discoveries which are likely to turn out to be mare's nests.

The documents published in these volumes are as follows: fifty-five letters from Hammurabi to Sin-idinnam; ten inscriptions of Hammurabi; three others referring to him; six letters of Samsu-iluna; thirteen letters of Abēšu; two letters of Ammiditana; five letters of Ammizaduga; two letters of non-royal personages; three royal inscriptions of Samsu-iluna, Ammiditana, and Ammizaduga, respectively; the chronicle of the kings of the First Dynasty, and the inscription of Marduk-sapik-zerim. The texts are lithographed from copies beautifully clear and fine. Vols. I and II contain the texts; Vol. III, the transliterations, translations, and notes textual, grammatical, and historical. Vocabularies and indices fill eighty pages of the last volume. Introductions of fifty-six and seventy-one pages, respectively, are given in the first and third volumes. It would be difficult to find a work more complete in all that scientific fulness demands. The typography and all connected therewith are equally satisfactory.

Turning from form and contents to the contributions made in these volumes to our knowledge of the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, we find an abundance of new information of the highest value, which will necessitate the enlargement, if not the rewriting, of the chapters devoted to the times of Hammurabi in our standard histories of Babylonia and Assyria. That great ruler is seen, not as a conquering king as some modern writers have regarded him almost exclusively, but as a great organizer. The letters which he writes to his subordinate in Larsam have little to say about wars and armies. They show him to be an administrator, and throw light on how he laid so well the foundations of the empire which for more than a millennium centered about the city of Babylon.

He had his hand upon all branches of the government. The least as well as the greatest governmental affairs were his concern. He was solicitous both for the proper administration of justice and for the needful supply of grain for the capital; for the rectification of the calendar and for the employment of the public slaves; for the revenues of the temples equally with those of the state treasury; for the care of the cattle upon the crown lands, and for the kind of wood supplied from the royal forests. It was already known from his inscriptions that he was interested in the opening of the public canals and in the rebuilding of the temples. These letters and the other new documents—particularly the chronicle—add many new illustrations of his activity in these directions.

The letters of his successors show how they followed in his footsteps. Everything points to a highly centralized administration and illustrates the great power which was wielded by these kings in all spheres of

public life. At the same time, as King remarks, the documents suggest that the conditions of life are still primitive and pastoral pursuits predominate. Very strikingly is this shown in the five letters of Ammizaduga which consist of summonses to the sheep-shearing at Babylon. It is curious that so little is said about commerce and industry in these royal dispatches. Yet we have evidence in the large number of business documents of the time elsewhere published (by Meissner and others) that the Babylonian activity in these lines was very great. The fact emphasizes the necessity of caution in generalizing from any one collection of materials as to the prevailing tendencies of any period of ancient life.

The possibility of this centralized administration is to be ascribed in large measure to the oversight exercised by the king through his liberal use of dispatches and the antecedent organization of a post system. King notes that letter-writing in the real sense now begins. Traces of a kind of communication between Babylonian cities are found in the time of Sargon of Agadi. But in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon it is reduced to a system—a fact which accounts also for the appearance of private correspondence in this period.

The foreign relations which these letters disclose are not many or complex. The earliest allusion to Assyria yet found occurs in a letter of Hammurabi in a way which suggests that the land formed a part of the king's dominions. The Elamite war is suggested in a couple of interesting dispatches about which some lively discussion has arisen. In one of these documents Father Scheil thought he had discovered the name of Chedorlaomer. It turns out, however, as King quietly and convincingly shows, that Father Scheil misread the cuneiform signs, and that in reality no such name is found there. The letters relate to the capture of some images of Elamite goddesses which Hammurabi orders to be brought to Babylon, and later, as is probable, to be returned to Elam and restored to their shrines. Another interesting historical fact is the appearance of the Kassites in the reign of Samsu-iluna long before their chiefs came to the Babylonian throne. Whether this early appearance was only a sporadic raid or the beginning of their advance into the land remains to be seen.

Like all such documents these letters and inscriptions leave many interesting historical problems of the age still unsolved. How the First Dynasty came to the throne, whether at the head of a body of invading Arabs—as King seems inclined to accept, following Pognon—or as legitimate heirs of preceding rulers—on this no light is given. The chronology, too, is thrown into some confusion by the new chronicle, in which the regnal years do not agree with the kings' lists. King is inclined to place the date of Hammurabi about 2200 B. C., though he acknowledges that dates for the First Dynasty can be given only very approximately.

A number of other interesting and valuable facts might be drawn from these documents illustrative of the life and history of the times.

Equally important contributions are made by Mr. King to the linguistic side of Assyriology in the discussion of words and phrases like the long note on the months (Vol. III, note 3). But we must close, as we began, with hearty commendation and grateful appreciation of the admirable service rendered by the author alike to the historian and philologist, both of whom will carry away from these volumes abundant spoil, while the student who is not a specialist will find in the attractive discussions and the excellent translations of the third volume much instructive information upon a memorable era in the history of the ancient world.

G. S. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LIFE.¹

This is the best book Professor Sayce has yet written, and displays a caution and a care for facts that are very refreshing. It has a distinct value for the student as giving in an English dress what might take up much time to find in German publications. The work will serve to familiarize a reader of Assyrian or Babylonian contracts with the problems which will meet him in his attempts to understand them. It gives in a clear and lucid form the results which have hitherto been reached. The popular reader or "man in the railway carriage" will miss "the purple patches" of "lower criticism;" but sober thinkers will find much to please them.

The contract "literature," letters, and even some religious texts are laid under contribution for facts, suggestions, and illustrations. For the most part the renderings of the original texts used as authorities seem to seize the essential points of the sentence and give it the desired complexion. Considerable dissent would be expressed by those who have made a special study of the subject, except, of course, where the author simply follows Oppert, Peiser, or Pinches; where these pioneers have failed the author has rarely improved matters. Probably it is outside the plan of the series to give references to quotations, but the reviewer has found it difficult to track some of the texts to their source. The hope raised by the footnote on p. 1, giving the authority for the statement that ninety feet are annually added to the coast line of the Persian Gulf, is crushed by the almost total absence of others. On p. 2 a curious piece of arithmetic meets us: the rate of deposit being taken as 100 feet per annum, a deposit of 130 miles is held to carry back a date to B. C. 6500, instead of about B. C. 4900. The earlier date requires only eighty feet a year.

In many cases very stale theories are retained on slender grounds. That Sennacherib made a very handsome present to Esarhaddon, apparently on taking rank as crown prince and receiving a change of name in honor of the occasion, is no ground for assuming any favoritism.

¹ BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS. *Life and Customs*. By Rev. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. London: J. C. Nimmo; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. x + 266 pp. (= "The Semitic Series," edited by J. A. Craig; Vol. VI.)

Winckler's view of the whole relations of Esarhaddon to Sennacherib and the parricide is much better in accord with facts. The elaboration of the account of the educational systems is overdone, and the contrast between the Assyrians and Babylonians is unfair to the former. The proof that most Babylonians could write, and only few Assyrians, relies on the absence of seals or prevalence of nail-marks. But the possession of a seal is no proof of ability to write, nor the use of a nail-mark any argument for illiteracy. What the author needs to show is that witnesses signed their names—that is, wrote them—in Babylonia, but had them written by others in Assyria. The author is much nearer the mark when he says that the preponderance of magical texts, omens, and portents, in the Ninevite collections, is an accident, due to the king's private taste. The so-called library of Ashurbanipal is a very fortuitous collection and cannot be made a basis for generalizations as to the contents of other libraries.

Many curious statements are made in an unguarded way, and no attempt appears in language or type to distinguish between facts and the author's impressions. Thus, when we read that "the value of land was proportionate to that of house property," we expect so definite a statement to be followed by an attempt to fix the proportion, or at least exemplify its existence. In fact, the assertion probably means only that, compared with modern prices, land was as cheap as houses—a rather superfluous observation. So, too, George Smith, as long ago as 1872, disposed of the idea that the fines mentioned in contracts could be used to determine a gold-silver ratio of value. That gold was worth ten times as much as silver may or may not be true; it certainly cannot be deduced from the data given on p. 125. The statement is several times made that in early times payments were made in grain. This was certainly the case in primitive days, but whether we have any trace of that usage is a matter for proof. A payment in *oil* scarcely proves the point, p. 144.

The Babylonians seem to have carried conjuring to a high pitch of excellence, if we are to believe that in the eleventh year of Nabonidus a gentleman called Nebo-edhernapisti was persuaded into believing that he had received one shekel of gold *in five-shekel pieces*. How was it done? This gentleman's name raises a point that is continually irritating the reader. The author has peculiar ideas on the correct method of transliterating Assyrian or Babylonian characters, to which he is welcome. But he persists in half translating his names. Nebo is not a transliteration of the original Nabû, but the rest of the name is only transliterated. Why not give the Hebrew or Arabic transliterations of *napîštu* as well? So Merodach Baladan is fair enough, but Merodach-apal-iddina is a hybrid. So Samas sometimes appears as Saul, with no warning that they are the same divine name. The *S* in Samas is rendered by the same letter as the *S* in Sin.

Despite the uncertainty as to the sources from which some quotations come, we may conjecture them in one or two cases. Thus, on p. 175, the amounts of tribute received from Carchemish, Arpad, Megiddo, seem to

be taken from II R. 53, No. 3, and those credited to Nineveh and Aššur from II R. 53, No. 2. But, if so, there are several unwarranted statements also made. Disregarding the assumption that this was in the time of Sennacherib, there is no proof that this tribute was "annual," nor that it was "expended on the maintenance of the fleet," nor that the total revenue was "274 talents." The author further omits to notice that in No. 2 the talents were of wool or woolen stuff, and that in l. 2 there is no mention of Aššur at all.

There are some mistakes in expression that are scarcely likely to mislead the reader, and may be misprints, of which there are plenty, due, doubtless, to printing at a distance. Thus, on p. 157, we read that gold was worth eleven times *more* than silver, when eleven times *as much* is intended. The Babylonians must have early become acquainted with the idea of a fourth dimension, if, as appears on p. 187, they could speak of a property as "twenty acres by thirteen."

As stated in the appendix, p. 265, the scale of measures, so important in a work of this description, is based on Dr. Oppert's researches. This was perhaps unavoidable without a preliminary chapter on the subject; but the results are naturally very quaint and at times disturb the author's complacency. Thus, while a Greek was content with a quart of wheat a day, a Babylonian slave had twice as much, p. 141.

In the chapter on religion Professor Sayce seems more at home with his facts, but the subject more easily lends itself to speculation, and perhaps dogmatic statements are more allowable. But that these ancient worshippers of God thought of him as the author suggests is very questionable, and any suggestion as to the real significance of much that they said is premature. One can only express a general sense of distrust in this book as a guide. When we begin to draw comparisons in detail between Assyrian and other Semitic religions, we are on surer ground. As Professor Sayce says, the general character is very similar. But his further statement that "in details it resembles the religions of the other Semitic nations of western Asia only in so far as they have been influenced by it," will surely be denied. Assyria or Babylonia may have borrowed more than the author admits, or two nations may have developed their ideas on parallel lines.

The book is a distinct contribution to the literature of the subject and is very pleasant to read. But care must be taken not to use any statement without careful examinations of the reasons given, if any, and, further, the original texts should be consulted if they can be found.

It was scarcely to be expected that reasons should be exhibited for the renderings given to Assyrian words, much less ideograms. This makes it very difficult to discuss the translations, as many sources of knowledge must be open to the author which a reviewer would not suspect. One rendering seems a perfect gem in its way and may serve to illustrate the reviewer's perplexities. An official who frequently appears in Assyrian documents bears a title written (amēl) LU-PA-MEŠ. As LU is the ideogram for *ṣabātu*, and PA for *appatu*,

one expects to read the title *ṣābit appāte*, which is literally "holder of the reins." This official was properly the "chariot-driver." But Professor Sayce, on p. 80, renders the title "bear-hunter." Is it possible he reads LU as *dip* and connects *dippa* with *dabū*, "a bear"? One almost feels ashamed to suggest the idea, but suspicion is not easily allayed.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE,
Cambridge.

EARLY BABYLONIAN HISTORY.¹

This book is the outgrowth of a doctor's dissertation presented to Columbia University in April, 1898. In adding this to the many discussions of this period which have appeared within the last fifteen years, the author has the following points especially in view: (1) "To arrange as far as possible the kings of the different dynasties so far as known to us according to a certain chronological order." (2) To transcribe and translate—where possible—all texts not found in *KB.*, III, 1. "By doing this I thought to help not only the historian, but also beginners in the study of Sumerian inscriptions, of whom I am first and foremost." In this he acknowledges his indebtedness mainly to the works of Jensen, Hilprecht, and Thureau-Dangin; also to Brünnow and Delitzsch. (3) To cite under the discussion of each king all the known, published literature of that ruler. (4) To presume some knowledge of the grammar of the "Sumerian language" by the reader of the volume. (5) "To avoid deductions from the inscriptions as far as possible," for each reader can do this for himself. (6) "To avoid all legendary matter." The preface also contains a note, which would much better have been added at an appropriate place in the book, on the pronunciation of *Šir-pur-la-ki* as found in the short form in Gudea Cyl. B, v, 22, where we find *Šir-pur-ki*. From this single example he says: "Hence this much only can we say: the sign for Pur had in all probability also the value of Pul."

The general plan of the book may be indicated before we examine its parts in detail. The introduction is an elaborate discussion (in 43 pages) of the chronology of this period of history, with an arrangement of the rulers of each city and dynasty. This is followed in succession by a treatment of the "Lord of Kengi" (4 pp.), "Rulers of Shirpurla" (75 pp.), "Kings of Kish and Gishban" (29 pp.), "The First Dynasty of Ur" (3 pp.), "The Patesis between Lummadur and Ur-Ba'u" (1 p.), "Kings of Agade" (21 pp.), "The Kings of Gutu and Lulubi" (5 pp.), "The so-called Later Patesis of Shirpurla" (34 pp.), "The Second Dynasty of Ur" (10 pp.), "Kings of Erech" (3 pp.), "Kings of Isin"

¹ *EARLY BABYLONIAN HISTORY: down to the End of the Fourth Dynasty of Ur; to which is appended an account of "The E. A. Hoffman Collection" of Babylonian Tablets in the General Theological Seminary, New York, U. S. A.* By Rev. Hugo Radau, A.M., B.D., Ph.D., Mayo Fellow in the General Theological Seminary. New York: *Oxford University Press*, 1900. xx + 452 pp.

(6 pp.), "The Third Dynasty of Ur" (3 pp.), "The Fourth Dynasty of Ur" (49 pp.), "The Names of the Months" (20 pp.), "Sign, 'God,' before Certain Proper Names" (10 pp.). To these are added 15 pages as an appendix on the E. A. Hoffman collection and indices containing "Proper Names," "List of Gods," "Buildings," "Cities and Lands" (18 pp.).

The discussions of the chapter headings just indicated are accompanied by the transliteration and translation, and, in case of the E. A. Hoffman collection, in many cases of a facsimile of the original text. Altogether we find about 250 different texts, large and small, treated in this volume. It is manifestly impossible to review such a display in the space at our command. It is of larger importance for our knowledge of early Babylonian history to ascertain the use made of all this material by the author. The introduction is the key to the author's method of chronology and classification, so let us turn our attention to this basal chapter.

The author begins his work by touching the "Sumerian" question. "Since Hammurabi wrote his records in two different languages, we are led to believe there were two different peoples in the land, differing from each other in speech." These have been called by scholars "Sumerian" and "Semitic-Babylonian." "An examination of them shows that the Sumerian was the original one in old Babylonia." "The Sumerians must consequently have been the people who invented this system of writing, called the 'cuneiform script.' If this is so—and it can hardly be denied—it would follow that there must have been a time when the Sumerians were the sole possessors of Babylonia. And if the Sumerians were the originators of this system of cuneiform writing and the original inhabitants of Babylonia, the question arises, When did the 'barbarians,' who adopted the Sumerian mode of writing in order to express their Semitic language, invade the country?" "If," as is done by some scholars, "we postulate only one race, using two different 'modes of writing,' how well educated must the people have been at so early a time as 4000 B. C. to be able to use two such widely differing 'modes of writing'! That would presuppose a development of at least two to three thousand years and a civilization which would be without parallel in the history of mankind." These assertions and conclusions in the outset of the book are discouraging. They reveal to the reader rather a hypothetical than a real basis in fact.

After settling the "Sumerian" question as indicated above, we find that "the most difficult question, however, in this history is that of its *chronology*. Here we have almost no basis to stand on." In these straits we can resort to two methods for locating our ancient rulers: "(1) By incidental references to kings who are thus shown to be contemporaries; (2) by palæographic evidence where the former is wanting." These two principles for the establishment of a system of early Babylonian chronology are both uncertain and precarious. As an example of the first principle he reproduces (p. 7) from *Revue d'Assyr.*,

Vol. IV, pp. 1 *sq.*, two seal-cylinder inscriptions of Sargon I. and Naram-Sin, respectively, wherein Lugalušumgal² is mentioned as patesi of Širpurla. But the second inscription is badly mutilated, and the parts supplied, though Radau's copy does not indicate that anything is lacking in the original, may be correct or incorrect. If they are correct, it is entirely possible that there may have been more than one Lugalušumgal patesi of Širpurla, as there were several rulers of Ur by the name of Dungi. At any rate, we must have a firmer basis than this for a trustworthy chronology.

In the second place, Radau takes twelve common signs: KUR, KA, MU, ŠU, DA, E, A, DAM, ĦUL, LUGAL, SUM, and KUŠ, and arranges in his supposed order of development the oldest forms of these signs found previous to and in Ur-Ba'u's time. He heads the list with two forms from the Monument Blau, "confessedly the oldest document we possess" (p. 9). In his classification of the oldest documents on the ground of the evidence of palæography he says: "The *first period* apparently is governed by the peculiar sign for MU" (p. 9). "The *second period* is governed by the signs DA and ŠU" (p. 9). "The *third period*, beginning with Lugalzaggisi, is governed by the peculiarity that original curved lines are broken (*cf.* ĦUL), complete lines are divided (*cf.* E), the 'thumb' in DA and ŠU is straightened, the sign for 'king' no longer exhibits its original two elements, but they form *one sign*." Sargon I. belongs to this last period. And to these three periods are attributed, on the basis of the peculiarities of one or more signs, all the archaic inscriptions previous to and including Sargon I.

Now the dates and comparative lengths of these periods must be considered. The author says (p. 11): "If we claim for each period a space of only 500 years—which is surely not exorbitant—we would come to the great age of about 5000 B. C. We may safely assert that the difference of the signs on the Monument Blau from those in R.A., III, 1-7 [this should be R.A., IV, 3, Nos. 1-7] is so great that we may add about 500 years more, *i. e.*, 5500 B. C., which would be the approximate date of the Monument Blau." This is the method by which the author establishes the periods in early Babylonian history, and on these as a basis he proceeds to examine the available documents. He begins by an examination of the documents that are necessary to establish the chronology of the kings and patesis of Širpurla (Lagaš).

"Having seen that Urukagina must have preceded Eannatum" (p. 12)—based on palæographic evidence only—he turns to the documents of this "king" and "patesi" of Širpurla. The fourth document given is not found in de Sarzec's *Découvertes*, 31, 3, as cited, nor in R.A., II, p. 87, but in R.A., II, p. 82.³ On p. 14 an inscription is quoted from R.A., III, p. 31, to prove that "Enannatum I. was a son of Akurgal, and therefore

² Radau, in both transliterations and in other places in the volume, erroneously writes Ušum-gal for Ušumgal.

³ In the discussion of this document in R.A. M. Henzey makes comparison with *Déc.*, 31, 3, which is translated by Oppert in R.A., II, p. 87; hence the confusion of references, neither of which is correct in Radau, p. 13.

a brother of Eannatum." But in the inscription copied the very word which he says "proves clearly" his case is not found in this text. The *dumu* is inserted before the name A-kur-gal. On p. 15 he says: "Each period, it was argued, comprised about 500 years." The only "argument" concerning the length of the period previous to this statement is the assumption quoted above. Again on p. 17 he says: "We might be able to fill up the 500 years which were claimed to lie between Urukagina and Lugalzaggisi, especially if we allow for every king about twenty years, and for the lacunæ which exist between certain kings some twenty to fifty years. The succession of governors during these 500 years would then be" (as follows). This is, indeed, a novel method of constructing history, and one which will severely shake the confidence of Radau's readers. On p. 21, in endeavoring to establish the conclusion of the patesis of Širpurla, he "proves clearly" that, because Ġalama's⁴ name is not followed by patesi, his father was the last patesi of that city, and his immediate successor was a King Ur—a large deduction from a simple omission.

Radau adopts the date of Naram-Sin (3750 B. C.) and Sargon I. as given in the inscription of Nabonidus. In this he disagrees with E. Meyer, Thureau-Dangin, and Lehmann. In fact, his whole chronological theory is built up on the assumption of the truthfulness of Nabonidus' statement. A few other statements must conclude our notice of his introduction. On p. 39 he says: "Between Ur-Ba'u and Gudea we claimed a space of about 200 years, on account of palæographic evidence—the sign for KA shows that clearly. Thus it will be seen that our arrangement is *true* to the present state of science, claiming 'gaps' where we do not know the succession of rulers, and palæography enjoins us to do so. If we bear this in mind, we are fully justified in assigning for the space between Ur-Ba'u and (Ga)lukani about 350 years." Again on p. 40, in the discussion of the relations of Gungunu and Dungi III., we discover a marvelous statement from the pen of our historian: "Again, we do not know that Dungi III. was the son of Gungunu; thus we are forced by necessity—if we wish to be scientific—to claim another gap between these two rulers; and since their titles are so very different, it follows that this gap must be a considerable one; . . . [this] is reason enough to claim for this gap 100 years."

Radau's summary of his chronology (p. 42), hovering about 3750 B. C., is a good exposition of the uncertainties with which everyone who takes up early Babylonian history in its present status must deal. This introduction reveals the fact that we are not yet ready to deal seriously with the chronological problems of the early Babylonian periods. The inscriptions are fragmentary, disconnected, ambiguous, and far from yielding material that will give us an early solution of these problems. Lehmann's, Hilprecht's, and Radau's attempts to construct a chronology

⁴ The sign read Ġa or Ġa is not only doubtful, as noted by Jensen (*KB.*, III, 1, p. 70, n. 6), but is most probably to be read *sig* or *pik*. The same sign occurs in Gudea Cyl. A, iv, 18, and Stat. B, v, 26.

for the whole period should be regarded *merely as assumptions*. To wrangle over dates in such an uncertain period is merely to juggle with figures, and waste time that would far better be employed in publishing or deciphering inscriptions belonging to this early period, until we have enough material to avoid the "scientific" method adopted by Radau, as indicated in the above quotations. The historian should make use of all the material at hand, but as soon as he enters the field of pure assumption he ceases to command the confidence of his readers, and to support the dignity of the science he serves.

On the basis of the chronology thus laid down, Radau proceeds to present the transliteration and translation of most of the inscriptions touching the rulers indicated in the chapter headings above. In carefully examining this great mass of literature, we find very few which have not been published before, either in translation, or in transliteration and translation. The author has suggested a few improvements, but the repetition of the inscriptions in these pages finds its justification rather in their bearing on the history than in the amount of new philological material produced. From the historical point of view, barring some of his chronological data and his "Sumerian" assumptions, these are the most satisfactory pages of the volume. We find certain epochs or the reigns of certain rulers quite fully described in some of the longer inscriptions, and have some valuable material for building a history of these oases in the early Babylonian period.

Some interesting facts appear in the examination of this work. On pp. 53 *sq.* we find a transliteration and translation of the Barrel Cyl. found in *Déc.*, 32, but are disappointed to discover that Radau stops just where Amiaud did years ago (in *Déc.*, pp. xxx and xxxi). On pp. 76-81 we have a long inscription of Eannatum, composed of several smaller inscriptions reproduced from Thureau-Dangin's work in *RA.*, IV, pp. 124, 125; in l. 44, also in note at bottom of page, he reads a-b-ba where the original plainly gives a-ba; l. 56 should be [an-ta-ge-šūš]. Pp. 97-109 is almost a verbatim reproduction of Thureau-Dangin's transliteration and translation on the "Cone of Entemena" in *RA.*, IV, pp. 42-50. Pp. 131-40 reproduce the Lugalzaggisi document, of which Radau says (p. 131, n. 2): "Thureau-Dangin first gave a complete translation in *RS.*, 1897, pp. 263 *sqq.*;" this he closely follows. At the conclusion of this document he discusses the relation of the Semites to Babylonia, and concludes by saying that "the immigration of the Semites" into Babylonia must be set back as early as, or earlier than, 5000 B. C., when the Sumerian power began to decay (p. 149). In a further discussion of the same question (pp. 178-80) he concludes (against Hilprecht) that the Semites came, not from the north, but from the south, and last of all conquered the northern provinces of Babylonia.

On p. 211 Radau states that Gudea Cyl. B, xxiii, 19 (this should be xxiii, 5') should be read, not dumu-ka, but dumu-sag, as in *Stat. B.*, i, 1. The connections are not the same, and the original of Cyl. B shows plainly a KA. On pp. 215-20 we have a marvelous exhibition

of skill in manipulating consonants. This will be realized when we find: "Only so much is certain that Kengi = Sungir = Shumer = Girsu = Shirpurla." What will philologists think of this transformation? What can we not prove if such methods are allowable? On p. 239 we find a severe arraignment of Winckler's "most careless and illogical argument" regarding Dungi of Ur; the conclusions which both scholars reach are due in large part to the lack of the necessary data to prove their premises. The reproduction of Thureau-Dangin's treatment of the names of the months (in *RA.*, IV, 83, 84) is scarcely relevant to the theme.

The appendix, in which we find some facsimiles, transliterations, and translations of the inscriptions in the E. A. H. collection, is a welcome though small, contribution to cuneiform literature. It gives the book one feature of value to scholars familiar with the other material of this early period. Though largely in the nature of contract or record tablets, they give us historical data of value, both in the old and in the new Babylonian periods. Several of the former date from the reigns of Bur-Sin, Ur-Ba'u, and Dungi.

Radau has used prodigious industry and brought together a vast amount of material—all except the E. A. H. collection already published in other works—and has classified it according to the periods to which he would attribute it. The book has its value in that it is a kind of register of early Babylonian texts. Scholars will, of course, use their own judgment regarding his chronological scheme. One thing is apparent throughout the work, viz., that he, like other "Sumerian" adherents, is having increasing difficulty in explaining the very early presence and power of the Semites in Babylonia.

It is not surprising if among the hundreds of references there should be some errors. We have noted the following, in addition to those already named: p. 15, second line, *Déc.*, 31, 3, should be *RA.*, II, p. 82; ninth line from bottom, *RA.*, III, should be IV; p. 16, ninth line from bottom, 70 should be 71; p. 27, l. 14, *RA.*, IV, should be III; p. 28, l. 10, same error; p. 81, l. 4 from bottom, *F*¹ should be *F*²; p. 91, l. 3 from bottom, 281 should be 288; p. 191, l. 11 from bottom, should read *Cyl. B.*, etc. Then, "*Clercq.*" "*le Clercq.*" occurring scores of times, should always be "*de Clercq.*" and "*De Sarzec*" should be "*de Sarzec.*" while titles of books would always appear more conspicuous and in better form if they were printed in italics. The author's English sometimes suffers from lack of familiarity with our idioms.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

IRA M. PRICE.

BROCKELMANN'S HISTORY OF ARABIC LITERATURE.¹

This is not a history of Arabic literature, but it is an excellent contribution toward such a history. Dr. Brockelmann is a worthy successor of the lamented Wüstenfeld and has taken up his self-sacrificing labors

¹ GESCHICHTE DER ARABISCHEN LITTERATUR. Von Carl Brockelmann. I. Band. Weimar: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1898. xii + 528 pp.

with youthful energy. Thus the nearest parallel to this book is probably Wüstenfeld's *Geschichtsschreiber*; the differences in plan are not essential. The attempts which are made here and there in the present work at a history of literature proper, consisting of general sketches of periods, and suggestions of influence, of development, and of tendency, are far too slight to merit much attention. They might well have been omitted, and have somewhat the appearance of purple scraps saved from the wreckage of the more ambitious work which the author had once planned. This applies above all to the few pages given to a characterization of the old poetry. What is said is true and good—always excepted the remark, on p. 15, that only a small part of that poetry expresses the subjective sensations of the poet, a most singular misjudgment of what "subjective" means—but this was not its place, as there was no opportunity to develop the subject adequately. Similarly, the little sketch of the origins of Šūfiism is most able and interesting, but it is also most irritating. Everything had to be put so shortly as to be one-sided. The *Karāmāt* of the Šūfis, for example, may resemble the wonders of the Indian Yōgis, but they resemble equally the wonders of European saints as rehearsed in such a thesaurus as the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. The same may be said of all the other introductory paragraphs scattered through the book.

But, apart from this, all the criticism which can be brought forward is one of details; and that, from the nature of the case, may be endless. Every Arabist must have dozens, and again dozens, of suggestions for additions and corrections which he would like to make. I shall give later a few which seem to me worth mention.

The plan of the book is simple and excellent. The literary development is divided into periods as follows: Book I, Arabic literature proper from the earliest beginnings to the fall of the Umayyads: A. To the appearance of Muhammad; B. Muhammad and his time; C. The Umayyad period. Book II, Muslim literature in Arabic: A. The golden period under the 'Abbāsids, A. D. 750—*circa* 1000; B. The silver period to the destruction of Baghdād, A. D. 1258; C. Under the Mongols till the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Turks in 1517; D. To the present day. The volume which we now have extends to the destruction of Baghdād. In the first period by far the greatest stress lies upon poetry; each poet has a biographical and descriptive paragraph, followed by bibliographical notes indicating where further information on him and his works may be found. Only those are considered whose poems, in part at least, have come down to us; and the principal manuscripts are referred to where there is no European edition. This is the method throughout the whole "History," and these bibliographical clues form the real backbone of the book and justify its existence.

The second period deals with Muslim literature written in Arabic. The distinction made is to the point and clearly drawn; in time it may help us to an escape from the much muddle-headed current talk about an Arabian philosophy and an Arabian science in which the Arabs had

little or no part. Each section is divided into eighteen chapters, and some chapters have as many as ten subdivisions, in part of subject, but mostly geographical. It is unnecessary here to state these divisions in detail. The scheme is generally good; but the difficulty of telling under which division a particular author must be sought is so great that most copious indices will be a necessity. It was a characteristic of Arabic writers to claim all knowledge for their portion and to write *de omni scibili*; Dr. Brockelmann acknowledges the trouble that this has made for him. Thus, in one of the chapters on philosophy (pp. 453-69), philosophers proper (*falāsifa*), logicians, and scholastic theologians are hopelessly mixed together. Yet the distinction between *kalām* and *falsafa* is one to be rigidly held; *manṭiq* belonged to everyone.

I now come to some suggestions on points of detail. The treatment of the whole *Jafr* and *Jāmi'a* literature is very inadequate. I have found mere references to it on pp. 44, 220, note, and 464. In this connection the paper by Casanova on the *Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā* in *J.A.* for January-February, 1898, called for notice. A relationship is there established between the *Ikhwān*, these pseudo-'Alid books, and the Assassins. See, further, my "Life of al-Ghazzali" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XX, pp. 113 sq. On p. 75 a reference would have been in place to Torrey's paper on al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf in the same journal, Vol. XVI, pp. 43 sqq. On p. 77 add to the editions of Abū Nuwās that printed at Cairo in 1898; it is edited by Iskandar Āsāf and Maḥmūd Wāṣif. Pp. 179 and 520, the *Risālat ash-Shāfi'i*, printed at Cairo in 1312, is certainly the *Risāla fī usūl al-fiqh*. It is not an ordered treatise on that subject of the later kind, but is exactly such an account of methods of reconciling *Qur'ān*, *Sunna*, *Ijmā'*, and *Ijtihād*, and of the nature of *'Ilm* and *Hujja*, that Goldziher's account in *Muh. St.*, Vol. II, p. 83, would lead us to expect. P. 113, l. 17, it would have been better to read "Tihāma's" for "der Tihāma;" the name in Arabic has no article. P. 195, the more correct form of the name is Mātaridī. On p. 156 reference should have been made to the edition, printed at Hyderābād in four parts and more than 1,400 pages (A. H. 1309?), of adh-Dhahabī's *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*. On p. 197, at the head of the section on mysticism, the *Nafahāt* of Jāmi should have been cited and, at least, the *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī and the *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* of ash-Sha'rānī. It may be worth noticing that the Cairo edition of the last appears to be incomplete; it springs from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ar-Rāsibī, who died in 367, to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilī (or al-Jilānī), who died in 561. On p. 199 the account of al-Hallāj is very inadequate, considering his historical and religious importance. It may be supplemented with the following references: Schreiner in *ZDMG.*, Vol. LII, pp. 468 sqq.; *Fihrist*, pp. 190 sqq.; al-Mas'ūdī in *Tanbih*, p. 387; al-Bērūnī in *Āthār*, p. 211; 'Arib, pp. 86 sqq. Under the rubrics astronomy, astrology, mathematics I find no mention of Māshā'allāh. He may not be of much interest to a German, but he has his place in English literature; for Chaucer's *Astrolabe* is really a translation, through Latin, of a book by him. He lived, according

to Casiri, Vol. I, pp. 434 *sq.*, under al-Manṣūr and al-Ma'mūn; see, further, the *Bodleian Catalogue*, index, *sub* Mashaal la *Fihrist*, p. 273; *ZDMG.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 434 *sqq.*, 600, and Vol. VIII, p. 380; *Biographie universelle*, *sub* Macha Allah; Wüstenfeld's *Übersetzungen arab. Werke ins Lat.*, pp. 34 *sq.* Another most interesting figure, who has a bare notice on p. 244, is Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī. That he died in 400 we do not know; we know that he was alive in that year. He is mixed up perplexingly with the *Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā* and with Ṣūfiism of a pantheistic type. See Ibn Khall. (de Slane's translation), Vol. I, p. 50; Vol. III, p. 264; *HKh.* 3831; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschr.*, p. 54; *Fihrist*, Vol. II, p. 121; Aḥmad Zākī, *Mawsū'at al-'ulūm* (Bulāq, 1308), pp. 12, 72 *sqq.*; *ZDMG.*, Vol. LII, p. 558; "Life of al-Ghazzālī," cited above, p. 113. Two of his *Risālas* were printed at Constantinople, A. H. 1301. The wording of p. 273, l. 4, suggests, what is of course absurd, that the question of God's *istiwā* was first propounded by al-Ghazzālī. P. 307, the '*Umda* of Ibn Rashīq has been printed at Tunis. P. 350, the chapter of ath-Tha'labī's *Qīṣaṣ* containing the history of Job has been translated in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, pp. 145-61. P. 389, the *Waraqāt* of the Imām al-ḥaramayn was printed at Cairo in 1306, along with the *sharḥ* of al-Maḥallī and the super-commentary of Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-'Ubādī; Ibn Qāsim explains that his work is extracted from his larger commentary on the same two books. In the paragraph on Ibn Tūmart (pp. 400 *sqq.*) sufficient stress is not laid on the pantheistic nuance in his views. Nor are the materials for his life cited with sufficient detail; Ibn Athīr has a "Life" *sub anno* 514; see, too, the *Qarṭās*, pp. 110 and 116; Ibn Khald., *Proleg.*, Vol. I, p. 53, in de Slane's translation. On al-Ghazzālī (pp. 419-526) I would refer to my "Life" already alluded to; it is, I believe, much more full and trustworthy than that by Gosche, who had not access to the necessary sources, and who has frequently led Dr. Brockelmann astray. The biography in Ibn Khallikān is almost worthless. It may be said generally that Ibn Khallikān is of little value as a critical historian. His interests were not those of a student, but of a dilettante in literature. On the form of the *nisba* Ghazzālī I trust to be able to enter at length elsewhere. Here I will only say that as-Sam'ānī, though he knew the spelling with one z, did not approve of it, for he could find no trace of a village Ghazāla; see the Sayyid Murtaḍā's introduction to his commentary on the *Iḥyā*, Vol. I, p. 18. Further, the passage in Ibn Khallikān on which Dr. Brockelmann apparently relies is an addition in the autograph manuscript and has apparently been inserted in the wrong place. Next, the *Sirr al-'ālamayn* has been lithographed at Bombay, but, in its present form at least, cannot be by al-Ghazzālī. At the beginning al-Ghazzālī is made to say: "And the first who transcribed it [the *Sirr*] and read it with me in the Nizāmiya Madrasa secretly in the second period after my return from journeying was a man from the land of al-Maghrib who was called Muḥammad ibn Tūmarth (*sic*) of the people of Salamiya, and by means of it I perceived in him the signs of royal power." Next, the *Ta'rif*

al-aḥyā of Ibn 'Aydārūs is printed on the margin of the Sayyid Murtaḍā's commentary (edition of Cairo, 1311), Vol. I, pp. 1-40, and the *Imlā* of al-Ghazzālī on pp. 41-252. The text of the *Imlā* is in great disorder. Finally, the book edited by Malter cannot possibly be by al-Ghazzālī; the contents and arrangement are enough. On Abū Ḥafs an-Nasafī (pp. 427 sq.) there is a paper with a translation of his '*Aqida*' in this JOURNAL, Vol. XII, pp. 73 sqq., and Vol. XIII, pp. 140 sq. On p. 446, No. 112, *r. al-ghauth* is explained as though *Ghauth al-a'zam* were the name of a particular mystic; it is rather the title of a high official in the Ṣūfī hierarchy, like Qūṭb. On p. 451 there is another curious mistake. On l. 18 *awliyā* is explained as "the friends of the Prophet;" it is, of course, the friends of God. On Ibn Sinā (pp. 452-8) we can now add Carra de Vaux's *Avicenne* and his curiously pessimistic or agnostic poem on the *nafs* in *JA.*, 9, Vol. XIV, pp. 157 sq. On p. 460 it would have been worth while to draw attention to the many translations of Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥay b. Yaqzān*; it is one of the few Arabic books that have secured an absolutely independent footing in European literature. On Averroes (pp. 461 sq.) reference should have been made to Tzitze de Boer's *Widersprüche der Philosophie*, a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of a man who is an intellectual puzzle because he chose to be one. No. 15, on p. 462, *Kitāb falsafat al-qāḍī al-fāḍil* (so rightly), printed at Cairo in 1313, is simply a reprint of the tractates published by M. J. Müller in 1859. This is shown by the text, which contains Müller's conjectural emendations, even where they are unnecessary. Finally in the article on Idrisi, the geographer, no notice is taken of the Roman edition of 1592, the Paris translation of 1619, Jaubert's translation of 1836, or the extracts by Dozy-de Goeje, Amari-Schiaparelli, and Gildemeister. The reference which Dr. Brockelmann makes to a Swedish pamphlet will help a comparatively small number of his readers.

It is obvious that such annotation as this might proceed indefinitely; but that possibility does not detract in the least from the value of the book. The subject is such that absolute completeness and accuracy are unattainable. We have here, it is true, no history in any exact sense, but we have a thesaurus, a *κειμήλιον ἐς δειξί*, of Arabic literary biography and bibliography. Every Arabist must be grateful to Dr. Brockelmann for his self-denying and patient labors. I only regret that the space allotted to me has not permitted me to treat his book at greater length.

HARTFORD, CONN.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

THE MOHAMMEDAN ORIENT.¹

These may be regarded as the first numbers of a kind of supplement to the *Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung*, which is to consist of notes and articles by Professor Hartmann dealing with the movements of

¹ DER ISLAMISCHE ORIENT. Berichte und Forschungen. Von Martin Hartmann. Heft I, II, III. Berlin: Wolf Peiser Verlag, 1898, 1900. 40 and 102 pp.

contemporary Islām. It is an undertaking to be heartily commended. Professor Hartmann has already abundantly shown how deeply he penetrated into the life of the Muslim East during his twelve years of official residence there. In the first number the first and longest article deals with the panislamic movement and its attempt to unite the Muslim peoples through the bond of Arabic. It shows how this Arabic renaissance may be the hope of the future, if it can be guided into the right paths toward enlightenment and true education; that here there is a chance for a reformed Islām, and that Islām can be reformed. There is no question of the magnitude of the problem. The Muslim world, like the Chinese world, is far too great to be permanently held in subjection by the civilization of the West; it must absorb that civilization and work out its own life. The other notes are on the legend of St. Barṣiṣā, already discussed by Goldziher and Landberg—this is of high interest—on the name Schoa for the Arabs settled in Bornu, on the Fihrist's notice of Ibn Ishāq as author of a *Sīra* of the Prophet, and on the popular use of transliteration in the East. The second and third numbers deal with the Chinese crisis as affected by Islām, and especially with the part which Germany may play in the reconstruction of China. They will be found very valuable for the amount of information which they contain on the Muslims of the far East; but Dr. Hartmann's plans for the future are of a very visionary character, and his prejudices and limitations are colossal. That he regards Thackeray's Joe Sedley as representing the modern English official in India is a quite magnificent joke.

HARTFORD, CONN.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

AL-WĀQIDI'S LIFE OF MUHAMMAD.¹

In view of the great edition of the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd which is being prepared by Sachau, and of the renewed interest in the biography of the prophet which will come with it, such a study as this of al-Wāqidi's book on the life of Muhammad at al-Madina is very timely. It is more nearly, and this of necessity, a comparison of al-Wāqidi with Ibn Ishāq, at least so far as we can get back to Ibn Ishāq through Ibn Hishām and aṭ-Ṭabarī. Dr. Horovitz treats his subject under four heads. First, the history of the text. The difficulty here is that all our manuscripts of the *Maghāzī*—and he had access not only to von Kremer's defective edition, but also to Wellhausen's copy of Fischer's manuscript—belong to one recension, and that there are grave discrepancies between it and the quotations in aṭ-Ṭabarī and elsewhere. Dr. Horovitz is driven to postpone the solution of this difficulty till we have the assistance of Ibn Sa'd's *Sīra*. Second, al-Wāqidi's sources and how he made use of them. Third, to what extent and how did he criticise his sources? Fourth, the contents of his book—what he has that is lacking in Ibn

¹ DE WĀQIDI LIBRO QUI KITĀB AL MAĠĀZĪ INSCRIBITUR. Commentatio critica quam scripsit Josef Horovitz, Dr. phil. Berolini: Mayer et Müller, 1898. 48 pp.

Ishāq, his attitude toward the quarrels of the early Muslims and the traditions which were forged to apply to these. Dr. Horowitz' book is sketchy and not very satisfying in its results; but it may be questioned if we are in a position to attain greater certainty.

HARTFORD, CONN.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

THE PALESTINE SYRIAC LECTIONARY.¹

The Palestinian Syriac is the most recently recovered of Semitic literatures. Fifty years ago the only hint of it was the Assemanis' announcement of a Vatican lectionary in Palestinian, or, as they wrongly styled it, Jerusalem, Syriac. In 1864 this was published by Miniscalchi-Erizzo, and with it the unearthing of the literature begins. Land followed in 1875 with fragments at London and St. Petersburg, but until ten years ago nothing more had been done. The activity of the past ten years, however, has been so great as to constitute the period an epoch in the study of Palestinian Syriac. In 1890 Dr. J. Rendel Harris published part of Galatians from a Sinai leaf. In 1891 Rev. Greville K. Chester secured five palimpsest leaves in Egypt and sent them to the Bodleian. In 1892 de Lagarde reedited the Vatican lectionary. In 1893 Mr. Gwilliam published five biblical fragments from the Chester palimpsests, and in the same year in the appendix of Mrs. Lewis' *Studia Sinaitica*, I, appeared notices of Palestinian Syriac manuscripts and fragments deciphered by Dr. Harris. In 1896 Mr. Margoliouth edited the *Liturgy of the Nile* from a British Museum manuscript, and Messrs. Gwilliam, Stenning, and Burkitt published homilies and biblical fragments from St. Catherine's and the Bodleian. In 1897 Mrs. Lewis, with some help from Professor Nestle and Mrs. Gibson, published another lectionary from a manuscript purchased in Cairo; and in 1899 appeared the volume before us. To this list should be added the still more recent volume of palimpsest fragments from the Cairo Geniza, published by the same editors in 1900, with which this extraordinary decade in Palestinian Syriac study ends.²

This new edition of the gospel lectionary is due to the discovery by Mrs. Lewis of a second manuscript of it on Mount Sinai in 1892, which in turn led to the discovery of a third by Dr. Harris in the same convent in the following year. The witnesses for the lectionary being now trebled, the need for a new edition based on all three manuscripts was obvious, and this need Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson have undertaken to supply. They have not attempted to create a text. Their method is to

¹ THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC LECTIONARY OF THE GOSPELS. Re-edited from two Sinai MSS. and from P. de Lagarde's edition of the "Evangelium Hierosolymitanum." By Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S. London: Trübner, 1899. lxxii + 320 pp.; large 4to. 55s.

² Cf. F. C. Burkitt, "Christian Palestinian Literature," *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. II, No. 6 (January, 1901), pp. 174-85.

republish the text of de Lagarde's edition of the Vatican manuscript with the variants of their Sinai witnesses flanking it in parallel columns. In date the three manuscripts are not far apart, the Vatican codex being dated A. D. 1030, and those at St. Catherine's A. D. 1104 and 1118, respectively. Excellent facsimile pages of both the Sinai manuscripts and a useful list of the significant Greek readings supported by one or more of the lectionaries against the text of Westcott and Hort accompany the text, and in general no pains have been spared to present with accuracy and completeness the textual witness of these lectionaries, which constitute the most important remains yet recovered of the later period of Palestinian Syriac literature.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

FOR THE YEAR 1900

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY AND THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES¹

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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THE OLD TESTAMENT

GRAMMAR, TEXT, AND TRANSLATIONS

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- SCHULTZE. Beruf der luth. Kirche in der Gegenwart. *EKZ*, nos 21, 22
- SHEARD. An up-to-date constitution for our church. *MR(N)*, My
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- BAUM. Religionsunterricht in der Volksschule. *ChrW*, 38
- DIRSTEL. Zur Frage nach dem Werte des Religionsunterrichts in der Schule. *ChrW*, 38
- EBELING. Erster Glaubensartikel in Luther's kleinem Katechismus. *StKr*, H 2
- FÜGNER. Religionsunterricht an höheren Schulen. *ChrW*, 36, 37
- HARRIS. Genesis & evol. of Su. sch. *LQR*, Ap
- JAEGER. Erfordernisse u. Vorbedingungen eines guten katechetischen Unterrichts. *KZ*, O
- Main purpose of the Sunday school. *BW*, Ap
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- PEASE. Suggestions toward a rational Bible-school curriculum. *BW*, Ag
- RICHARD. Method in Sunday-school education. *Am Ch Su-Sch Mag*, J1
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- SCHNEEL. Verwendg. d. Hauptreformationsschriften Luthers in dem Unterr. höh. Schulen. *ZsRU*, O
- SCHWARTZ. Unsere katechet. Aufgabe. *Hk*, 5
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- Should professional & salaried teachers be employed in Sunday school? *BW*, D
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- Foreign Missions
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- ALLAN. Civilisation & for. miss. Lo-Stock 2
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- BOHNER. Die Basler Mission in Kamerun. *AMZ*, F
 BOOTH. Christ. education in Japan. *MissR*, S
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 EWING. Contributions of missions to science, com-
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 FOREST, DE. Christian unity in Japan. *Ind*, 13 D
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 FRYER. Miss. work in China. *Ainslee's*, Ag
 GAREIS. Mission Berlin I in Deutsch-Ostafrika.
KM, 230-38
 GENSCHEN. Rel.-sittl. Leben unserer Missions-
 gemeinden. *EM*, G
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 SCHWARTZ. Bedingungen d. Taufe auf d. Missions-
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 SEARLE. Miss. work in south Africa. *MiR*, J1
 SHAHAN. Catholic missionaries from France &
 Japan. *CW*, O
 SHEFFIELD. Higher educ. in miss. fields. *MiR*, S
 SMITH. Aspect of foreign missions. *ET*, Ap
 STRÜMPFEL. Religious Tract Society u. ihr Hel-
 ferdienst in der Heidenmission. *AMZ*, nos 1, 2
 WALKER. Influence of missions on our theologi-
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 WARD. Missionaries in Egypt. *NC*, Ag
 WASHBURN. A Christian college in Constantino-
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 WHITE. Why do not more Hindus accept Jesus
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 tion. Balto-Johns Hopk Press (87) 0.50
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- CALB. Indian Christian. *Chu Miss Intell*, F
- DALHOFF. Ist d. barmherzige Behandlg. d. Irren v. Christentum od. v. Islam ausgegangen? *MIM*, O
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- GRAHAM. Home-relief the best form of organized Christianity. *CW*, S
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- KNIGHT. Development of prevailing ideas as to the right treatment of criminals. *BS*, Ap
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- ROL. Judenmission an d. Wende d. Jhrh. *Nath*, Ja
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- SCHOTT. Christl. Mission u. sozialer Fortschritt. *AMZ*, F, Mr
- SIEDEL. Das weisse Kreuz. *Alter Glaube*, 4, 5; *AE-LKZ*, 28 ff
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- THULIÉ. Les primitifs et l'âme. *R de l'École d'anthropol de Paris*, Ap
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ABBREVIATIONS

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bd = bound, pl = plates

Months: Ja, F, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Jl, Ag, S, O, N, D

PLACE OF PUBLICATION

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>A = Amsterdam
Au = Augsburg
B = Berlin
B-BBM = Buchh. der Berliner ev. Missionsgesellschaft
B-C = B-Calvary
B-H = B-Haack
B-M & M = B-Mayer & Müller
B-R = B-Reimer
B-R & R = B-Reuther & Reichard
B-Sch = B-Schwetschke
B-Wa = B-Warneck
B-Wei = B-Weidmann
B-W & G = B-Wiegandt & Grieben
Ba = Bavel
Be = Bern
Bi = Bielefeld
Bi-V & K = Bi-Velhaven & Klasing
Bn = Bonn
Bn-G = Bn-Georgi
Bn-M = Bn-Marcus
Bn-W = Bn-Weber
Bo = Boston
Bo-H, M = Bo-Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Bo-PP = Bo-Pilgrim Press
Br = Breslau
C = Cahors
C-C = Cahors-Coueslant
Ca = Cambridge (Engl.)
Ca-UP = Ca-University Press
Chi = Chicago
Chi-R = Chi-Revell
Cin = Cincinnati
Dr = Dresden
Du = Dublin
Ed = Edinburgh
Ed-C = Ed-T & T Clark
Ed O = Ed-Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier
El = Elberfeld
El-V & K = El-Velhaven & Klasing
Erf = Erfurt
Erl = Erlangen
Erl-J = Erl-Junge
F = Freiburg i. Br.
F-H = F-Herder'sche Verlagsbuchh.
F-W = F-Wagner
F(Sch) = Freiburg in Switzerland
Fr = Frankfurt a. M.
Fr-K = Fr-Kaufmann
G = Göttingen
G-V & R = G-Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
Gi = Giessen
Gi-R = Gi-Ricker'sche Buchh.
Go = Gotha
Go-P = Go-Perthes
Go-Sch = Go-Schloessmann
Gü = Gütersloh
Gu-B = Gu-Bertelsmann
Hd = Heidelberg
Hd-G = Hd-Groos
Hd-W = Hd-Winter
Hl = Halle
Hl-M = Hl-Mühlmann
Hl-N = Hl-Niemeyer
Hl-W = Hl-Buchh. d. Waisenhauses
Hm = Hamburg
Hm-EB = Hm-Evang. Buchh. (Verl. & Sort.)
Hm-O = Hm-Oncken Nachf.
Hm-RH = Hm-Raubes Haus
Hn = Hannover</p> | <p>K = Königsberg
Kö = Köln a. Rh.
Ko-B = Kö-Bachem
L = Leipzig
L-B = L-Braun
L-ReB = L-Buchh. des evgl. Bundes
L-Br = L-Brockhaus
L-D = L-Deichert
L-Dd = L-Diederichs
L-Dt = L-Dieterich
L-D & F = L-Dörffling & Franke
L-D & H = L-Dunker & Humblot
L-H = L-Hinrichs
L-T = L-Teubner
Laus = Lausanne
Le = Leiden
Le-vB = Le-vernals Brill
Lo = London
Lo-BI = Lo-A. & C. Black
Lo-B & O = Lo-Burns & Oates
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Lo-P = Lo-Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
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Lo-SPCK = Lo-Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
Lo-W & N = Lo-Williams & Norgate
M = München
M-B = M-Beck
Mb = Marburg
Mb-E = Mb-Elwert
Mh = Mannheim
Mo = Montauban
Mo-G = Montauban-Granié
Mü = Münster
Mü-A = Mü-Aschendorff
Mü-Sch = Mü-Schöningh
Mz = Mainz
Mz-K = Mz-Kirchheim
Nü = Nürnberg
NY = New York
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P-F = P-Fischbacher
P-H = P-Hachette
P-L = P-Lecoffre
P-Lr = P-Leroux
P-P = P-Poussielgue
P-R = P-Retaux
Pa = Paderborn
Pa-B = Pa-Bonifacius-Druckerei
Pa-Sch = Pa-Schöningh
Ph = Philadelphia
Ph-ABP = Ph-Am. Bapt. Public. So.
Reg = Regensburg
Reg-P = Reg-Pusset
Ro = Roma</p> |
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St = Stuttgart
 St-BeG = St-Buchh. der evgl. Gesellschaft
 St-C = St-Cotta
 St-Fr = St-Frommann
 Str = Strassburg
 Str-R = Str-Le Roux
 Str-T = Str-Trübner, K. J.
 T = Tübingen
 T-M = T-Mohr

Tr = Trier
 Tr-P = Tr-Paulinus-Druckerei
 W = Wien
 W-G = W-Gerold's Sohn
 We = Weimar
 Wi = Wiesbaden
 Wü = Würzburg
 Wü-G = Wü-Göbel
 Z = Zürich

PERIODICALS AND SERIALS

- A* = Arena
AA = American Antiquarian
AB = Analecta Bollandiana
AC = L'Association catholique
ACQ = Am. Catholic Quarterly Review
AE = Archiv für Ethnographie
AE-LKZ = Allgem. Ev.-Luther. Kirchenzeitg.
AER = American Ecclesiastical Review
AGPh = Archiv f. d. Gesch. d. Philosophie
AIBL = Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Comptes rendus)
AJA = American Journal of Archaeology
AJS = American Journal of Sociology
AJSL = Am. Jour. of Semitic Lang. and Lit.
AJTh = American Journal of Theology
AKR = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht
ALKGMA = Archiv für Literatur u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters
al-M = al-Mashriq
AMZ = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift
AO = Der alte Orient
APF = Archiv für Papyrus-Forschung
APCh = Annales de Philosophie chrétienne
ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
B = Biblia
BA = Beiträge zur Assyriologie
BAZ = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung; München
BBK = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.
Bes = Bessarione
BFChTh = Beiträge z. Förg. christl. Theologie
BG = Beweis des Glaubens
BHL = Bulletin hist. et lit. de la Société du Protestantisme français
BOR = Babylonian and Oriental Record
BiSt = Biblische Studien
BS = Bibliotheca Sacra
BSt = Bible Student
BSIPh&G = Berner Studien zur Philosophie u. ihrer Geschichte
BU = Bibliothèque universelle
BW = Biblical World
BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CAOR = Charly Organization Review
CHOR = Church Quarterly Review
CHR = Charities Review
ChrK = Christliches Kunstblatt
ChrL = Christian Literature
ChrQ = Christian Quarterly
ChrW = Christliche Welt
CR = Contemporary Review
CW = Catholic World
DAZThK = Deutsch-amerikanische Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
DEBI = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter
DPBI = Deutsches Protestantenblatt
DR = Deutsche Revue
DRu = Deutsche Rundschau
DuR = Dublin Review
DZKR = Deutsche Zeitschrift f. Kirchenrecht
EdR = Edinburgh Review
EHK = English Historical Review
EKZ = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung
EM = Evangelische Missionen
EMM = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin
Et = Etudes
ET = Expository Times
Exp = Expositor.
F = Forum
FChL&D = Forschungen z. christl. Litteratur- u. Dogmengeschichte
FEB = Flugschriften des evang. Bundes
FR = Fortnightly Review
FrKPh = Frommann's Klassiker der Philos.
GGN = Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten
GHV = Geschichtsblätter des Hugenotten-Vereins (Magdeburg-Hinrichshofen)
GPr = Gymnasialprogramm
G&L = Geest en Leven
G&V = Gelooft en Vrijheid
HChrW = Hefte zur Christlichen Welt
H/KSK = Hefte der freien kirchl.-soz. Konf.
Hh = Halte was du haast = *ZpTh*
Hjb = Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft
H&AT = Handkommentar z. Alt. Test.
HN = L'Humanité nouvelle
HR = Homiletic Review
HSR = Hartford Seminary Record
HVS = Historische Vierteljahrschrift
HZ = Historische Zeitschrift
IA = Indian Antiquary
IAQR = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review
ID = Inaugural-Dissertation
IER = Indian Evangelical Review
IJE = International Journal of Ethics
IM = International Monthly
Ind = Independent
ITAR = International Theological Review
JA = Journal asiatique
JAOS = Journal of the Am. Oriental Society
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature
JbPh&S = Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie
JM = Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JS = Journal des Savants
JThS = Journal of Theological Studies
JTVI = Jour. of Trans. of Victoria Institute
Kath = Der Katholik
KF = Kirchliches Familienblatt
KFIW&L = Kath. Flugschriften z. Wehr u. Lehr
KH-CAT = Kurzer Hd.-Commentar z. Alt. Test.
KM = Kirchliche Monatschrift
KT = Kyrklig Tidskrift
KZ = Katechetische Zeitschrift
LCh = Liberté chrétienne
LChR = Lutheran Church Review
LQ = Lutheran Quarterly
LOR = London Quarterly Review
M = Muséon
Ma = Marnix
MA = Mith. or Monatsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften; *e. g.*, Berlin, München
MCG = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft
MGE = Mancherlei Gaben und Ein Geist
MG&K = Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst
Mi = Mind
MIM = Monatschrift für innere Mission
MIÖG = Mittheilungen des Instituts f. österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MiR = Missionary Review
Mo = Monist
MR(N) = Methodist Review (North)
MR(S) = Methodist Review (South)
MS&L = Monatschrift für Stadt und Land
MVGDB = Mith. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen
M&ND = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
P-V = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten für d. evangelische Kirche Russlands
M&N = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten für d. evangelische Kirche Russlands
EKR = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten für d. evangelische Kirche Russlands

- NA* = Nuova Anthologia
NADG = Neues Arch. d. Gesellsch. f. ältere deu. Gesch.
NAKG = Nederl. Archief voor Kerkgesch.
Nath = Nathanael
NC = Nineteenth Century
NCR = New Century Review
NHJb = Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher
NkZ = Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift
NT&T = Norsk Theologisk Tidskrift
NW = New World
OC = Open Court
OLZ = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung
OT = Ons Tijdschrift
Os = Outlook
P&HKS = Pastoralblätter für Homiletik, Katechetik und Seelsorge
PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement
PAJb = Philosophisches Jahrbuch
PhM = Philosophische Monatshefte
PhR = Philosophical Review
PQ = Presbyterian Quarterly
Pr = Protestant
PrJb = Preussische Jahrbücher
PrM = Protestantische Monatshefte
PRR = Presbyterian and Reformed Review
PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
PsSt = Psychologische Studien
QQ = Queen's Quarterly
QR = Quarterly Review
RA = Revue archéologique
RAAO = Rev. d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale
R&Chr = Revue de l'Art chrétien
RAL = Rendiconti dell R. Acad. dei Lincei
RB = Revue biblique
RBd = Revue bénédictine
RChr = Revue chrétienne
R&KR = Reformed Church Review
R&KR = Revue de Christianisme sociale
R&M = Revue des deux Mondes
REJ = Revue des Études juives
RHE = Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique
RHLR = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses
RHR = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RiCr = Rivista Cristiana
RiF = Rivista di filosofia
RMM = Revue de Metaphysique et Morale
RN-S = Revue néo-scholastique
RO&Chr = Revue de l'Orient chrétien
ROL = Revue de l'Orient Latin
RPh = Revue philosophique
RO = Römische Quartalschrift
ROH = Revue des Questions historiques
RS = Revue sémitique
RScE = Revue des Sciences ecclésiastiques
RTA = Revue théologique
RT&Ph = Revue de Théol. et de Philos.
RT&QR = Revue de Théol. et des Quest. relig.
SA = Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wiss.; e. g., Berlin, München, etc.
ScC = Science catholique
SGVS = Sammlung gemeinverst. Vorträge u. Schriften aus d. Gebiet der Theologie u. Religionsgeschichte
T&RG }
StGT&K = Studien z. Gesch. d. Theol. u. Kirche
StKr = Theologische Studien und Kritiken
StLKN = Stimmen uit de Lutherse Kerk in Nederland
StML = Stimmen aus Maria-Laach
STP = Seelsorge in Theorie und Praxis
StrThSt = Strassburger Theologische Studien
StWV = Stimmen voor Waarheid en Vrede
TGT&K = Tijdschrift v. geref. Theologie
T&ARh = Theologische Arbeiten aus d. Rhein. wiss. Prediger-Verein
WPV }
T&Lb = Theologisches Literaturblatt
T&Ls = Theologische Literaturzeitung
T&Q = Theologische Quartalschrift
T&R = Theologische Rundschau
T&St = Theologische Studien
T&T = Theologisch Tijdschrift
TT = Theologisk Tidskrift
T&U = Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur
T&Z = Troffel en Zwaard
UC = L'Université catholique
UPr = Universitätsprogramm
VwPh = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie
WEB = Wartburghefte f. d. Evangel. Bund (Leipzig-Braun)
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZAeg = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde
ZATW = Z. f. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
Z&ChrK = Z. für christliche Kunst (Ap-Mr)
ZDMG = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.
ZDPV = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZeRU = Z. f. d. evang. Religions-Unterricht
Zf&ChrVL = Zeitfragen für christl. Volkaleben
ZKG = Z. für Kirchengeschichte
ZkTh = Z. für katholische Theologie
ZMR = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft
ZNTW = Z. für neutestamentl. Wissenschaft
ZpaTh = Z. für Pastoral-Theologie
ZPh&Kr = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik
ZPhP = Z. für Philosophie und Pädagogik
ZprTh = Z. für praktische Theologie
ZSchw = Z. für Theologie aus der Schweiz
ZThK = Z. für Theologie und Kirche
ZVThürG = Z. d. Vereins f. Thüringische Gesch.
ZwTh = Z. für wissenschaftliche Theologie

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BEITRÄGE ZUR SUFFIXLEHRE DES NORD-
SEMITISCHEN.

VON J. BARTH, PH.D.,

Professor der semitischen Sprachen an der Universität Berlin.

Die Suffixbildung im Arabischen zeigt durchsichtige Gesetze, weil die Suffixe unverändert in immer derselben Form an die hier noch vorhandenen Flexionsendungen oder—wie beim Jussiv— an consonantisch ausgehende Formen sich anfügen. Beim Aethiopischen, das fast alle Flexionsendungen verloren hat, tritt schon als Mittel der Suffigirung häufiger ein sogenannter Bindevocal¹ auf, d. h. es suffigirt öfter consonantisch endigende Formen nach Analogie der vocalisch ausgehenden oder lässt, wie im Plural, einen abgefallenen Vocal wieder erscheinen; die Suffixendungen selbst liegen aber auch hier—abgesehen von der Ausstossung des *h* in der 3. Person—unverändert vor.

Dagegen bieten das Hebraeische und die aramäischen Idiome eine ganze Reihe von bisher ungelösten Schwierigkeiten sowohl hinsichtlich der Vielfältigkeit mancher Suffixformen an sich, als der verschiedenen Tonstellung selbst gleichgebildeter Formen, als vor Allem der verschiedenartigen Bindevocale bei denselben Wortgattungen; mehrere aramäische Dialekte hinsichtlich der auffälligen Verwendung singularischer und pluralischer Suffixbildungen und isolirt dastehender Affixe und Suffixe. Diesen Erscheinungen sollen die folgenden Erörterungen gewidmet sein,

¹ Diese Bezeichnung wird im Folgenden als herkömmlicher Ausdruck weiter gebraucht, ohne dass selbstverständlich damit gesagt werden soll, dass sie *Neubildungen* für den Zweck der Suffigirung seien.

Die Suffixe der 2. und 3. Pers. Plur. bezeichnet man als schwere. Sie ziehen den Ton an sich, und der ehemals vorangegangene Bindevocal wird zumeist nicht einmal mehr als Halbvocal gehört; nur in der Aspiration des *k* des Suffixes der 2. Pers. Plur. wirkt er noch nach; vgl. מְשַׁבֵּחַ, דְּבָרֶיךָ gegenüber דְּבָרֶיךָ, מְשַׁבֵּחַ u. dgl. m. Als Ursache dafür könnten entweder die Feminine, *kinna*, *hinna* mit ihrer Schärfung der ersten Silbe oder bei der urspr. Zweisilbigkeit aller dieser Suffixe die Masculine in Betracht kommen, welche den Ton auf der letzten Silbe hatten; vgl. aeth. *k^emū* mit der Erhaltung des letzten Vowels in hebr. מִלְּךָ aus *ā-h^e-mū*. Jene erstere Ursache, die Grimme²² geltend macht, würde aber diese Wirkung nicht

ändern zu vermuthen, und der Plural *him* könnte ebensogut wie der Sing. der Ausgangspunkt gewesen sein.— Ueber den Ursprung des Suffixes *hi* wage ich keine Vermuthung. Brockelmann's (*Syr. Gramm.*, § 92) Annahme einer urspr. Dissimilation nach *u* wäre höchstens eine von mehreren Möglichkeiten, die aber für das Arabische nicht in Betracht kommen würde.

⁶ Über das Verhältniss beider vgl. Noldeke, *ZDMG.*, Bd. 38, S. 420, Anm. 6.

⁷ Wie assyr. *kunu*, das auch keine Doppelung des *n* zeigt. Das *n* beruht auf Einwirkung des Feminins.

⁸ Wie arab. *kum*, in Poesie *kūmū*; aeth. *k^emū*.—Das *e* im Hebr. beruht auf Einwirkung des Feminins. Das Hebr. (und in anderer Art das Arab. und Aeth.) differenzirt nur noch die Consonanten für beide Geschlechter und gleicht die Vocale des Masc.'s dem Feminin an; umgekehrt unterscheiden das Aram. und Assyrische nur noch die Vocale und gleichen den Nasal *n* (statt urspr. *m*) dem Feminin an.

⁹ Das Segol abgestumpft—wohl in Folge der urspr. Schärfung des *n*—aus *Zērē*, wie in דָּן, wo das urspr. דָּן, דָּן noch daneben steht.

¹⁰ Das *ē* beruht auf Ersatzdehnung statt der urspr. Schärfung des *n*. Ebenso in der Form 3. Plur. Fem. und bei dem *ō* der 2. und 3. Pers. Plur.

¹¹ Nur nach einsilbigen Praepositionen, wie בְּהִימָה, בְּהִימָה u. s. w., die sich proklitisch an die volle Form anlehnten.

¹² Nach langen Vocalen, z. B. אֲבִירָהֶם, אֲבִירָהֶם; ebenso nach dem ׀ des Stat. cstr. Plur., דְּרָכֶיךָ u. s. w.

¹³ Nach Wörtern ohne vocal. Ausgang מִלְּךָ; sonst nach langen Vocalen מִלְּךָ, מִלְּךָ.

¹⁴ Hinter consonantisch schliessenden Substantiven, dem Plur. *ōth* und Praepositionen.

¹⁵ Das Verhältniss zum Masc. wie bei der 2. Pers. Plur.—Ebenso im Neuarabischen von Syrien *hōn* (Oestrup, 133), bezw. *un*, wie *beit-un*, *minn-un* (Tallqvist, *Sprichw.*, 18), *hun*, *an* im Mesopotamischen (Socin, *ZDMG.*, Bd. 36, S. 239).

¹⁶ Hinter einsilbigen Praepositionen, wie das Masc., s. Anm. 11.

¹⁷ Hinter denselben Praeposs.; die tonlose Endsilbe ist abgefallen; sonst nur in dem einsilbigen דָּן.

¹⁸ Meist nach langen Vocalen, die stärkeren Gegenton haben; selten sonst, wie in דָּן, דָּן.—Einmal דָּן beim fem. Plural: גְּרִיזִינָה, dessen Segol nach *Zērē* auf Dissimilation beruht.

¹⁹ Nur zweimal: בְּחִירָה, בְּחִירָה.

²⁰ Nach consonantischem Ausgang; selten, z. B. אֲחִינֹחַ, אֲחִינֹחַ.—Daneben gehen die vereinzelten Formen קָרְבָּה und, mit Dageß, לִיחֻמָּה her; s. unten S. 200.

²¹ Das gewöhnlichste Suffix hinter consonantisch endigendem Nomen; auch an der plur. Endung *ōth*.

²² Grundsätze der hebr. Accent- und Vocalehre, S. 23.

erklären; denn auch andere Suffixe sind auf der Suffixsilbe betont, wie **דְּבָרָה**, ohne darum den vorangehenden Halbvocal verschweben zu lassen. Dagegen dürfte das zweite Moment das thatsächlich wirksame sein; denn es erklärt es, dass dieselbe Verkürzung vor dem Suffix eintritt, wie vor einem auch mehrsilbigen nachfolgenden Substantiv: **דְּבָרִים** wie **דְּבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ**, weil auch im ersteren Fall das Substantiv von der ursprünglichen Tonstelle in *k°mú* durch eine Silbe, also weiter als bei den übrigen Suffixen getrennt war.²³ Aber die Schärfung und starke Betonung der ersten Silben der Feminine hatte die andere Wirkung, dass durch sie der tonlose Vocal, der auf sie folgte, meist abfiel und sie nun einsilbig *kínn*, *hínn* lauteten. Bei dem starken gegenseitigen Ausgleichsstreben der masculinen und femininen Pluralformen bewirkte dies nun auch den Abfall des zweiten und die starke Betonung des verbleibenden ersten Vocals beim Masculinum: *hímm* nach fem. *hínn*. Die starke Vocalverkürzung des *Substantivs* wäre demnach die Wirkung der urspr. entfernten Tonstelle beim zweisilbigen masculinen Suffix, die scharfe Betonung der einzigen verbliebenen *Suffixsilbe* aber die Folge der Schärfung der ersten Silbe des femininen Suffixes mit Uebertragung dieser Wirkung auch auf das Masculin.

Die mannigfaltigen Formen der hebraeischen Suffixe der 3. Pers. masc. und fem. Pluralis, die oben zusammengestellt sind, lassen sich offenbar nicht lautgesetzlich aus *einer* Grundform ableiten. Ihre vielformige Gestaltung erklärt sich m. E. vielmehr aus Einwirkungen einerseits des Feminins auf das Masculin, was m. W. zuerst Nöldeke hervorgehoben hat, aber auch andererseits, was bisher verkannt ist, der Masculine auf das Feminin; es sind die von den Angleichungen betroffenen neben den von ihnen unberührt gebliebenen Formen stehen geblieben.

Beim Masc. 3. Pers. Plur. ist die lautgesetzliche Entwicklung der Grundform *húmú*²⁴ ohne Analogieeinwirkung in dem **זָרוּ** von **חֶלְבָּנוּ**, **לָמוּ** erhalten, die auf **chelbah°mú* zurückgehen. Das Feminin mit seiner ursprünglichen Schärfung der ersten Silbe glich nun zuweilen sein Suffix dem Masculin dergestalt an, dass es seine ihm eigene Schärfung aufgab. So entstanden secundäre feminine Formen wie **בְּחֻקֶּיהָ**, **בְּלִהָהָ**, aus denen weiter

²³ Eine ursprüngliche Paenultima-Betonung *kémú*, *hémú*, die König, *Lehrgebäude*, Bd. 2, S. 518, voraussetzt, ist ausserst unwahrscheinlich; vgl. das Aeth., sowie arabisches *kumú*, *húmú*.

²⁴ Im Hebr. ist sie wohl mit kurzem betonten Schluss-*u* wegen des *ó* anzusetzen.

mit Ausstossung des ה und folgenden Halbvocals nach Art der erwähnten Ausstossung beim Masculin Formen wie לְבַדָּהּ, אֶתְנָהּ hervorgingen. In diesen Formen ist im Uebrigen die ursprüngliche Verschiedenheit der Masculine und Feminine sowohl in consonantischer als vocalischer Beziehung gewahrt geblieben.

Aus diesen Formen sind das masc. מֶ- und fem. נֶ- durch Tonrückgang auf den Bindevocal und dadurch bewirkten Abfall der Schlussilbe hervorgegangen. Der Tonrückgang ist durch den Einfluss aller anderen Formen leicht erklärlich, sofern der Bindevocal a bei den anderen Suffixen von vornherein Träger des Tons gewesen und auch in dem hínna der 3. Pers. Plur. Fem die Endsilbe von Anfang an tonlos war. Diese Formen, wie הֶלְבָּם, קִדְמָתָן, einsilbig und mit betontem Bindevocal, die sich den übrigen Suffixen am meisten annäherten, sind darum wohl auch die gewöhnlichsten geworden.

Eine umgekehrte Bewegung, Einwirkung des Feminins auf das Masculin, zeigt sich dagegen in dem Masc. הֶמָּה, dessen Schärfung des m sowohl wie dessen Vocale auf Angleichung an das הֶמָּה = hínna des Feminins beruhen. Beide zweisilbigen Formen haben sich aber nur nach kurzen einsilbigen Praepositionen, die sich proklitisch an ihren volleren Wortkörper anlehnten, wie לְהֶמָּה, לְהֶמָּה, erhalten.—Da die Paenultima bei ihnen betont war, so war bei der Einwirkung der übrigen einsilbigen Suffixe der Abfall der tonlosen Endsilbe von selbst gegeben; es entstanden so die selteneren Formen wie בָּהֶן, בָּהֶן, לָהֶן, weit häufiger solche wie אֲבִיהֶן אֲבִיהֶן,²⁵ die sich beim masc. Substantiv nur nach langem Vocal, sonst in Praepositionen, wie עִמָּהֶם, לָהֶם, beim Feminin aber auch noch bei einigen Substantiven mit consonantischem Ausgang, wie שְׂבִיתָהֶן, חֲלִבָּהֶן, erhalten hat.²⁶

Es beruht demnach im Hebr.

I. auf der masculinen nicht geschärften Grundform hámú :

das Masc. מֶ, מֶ, מֶ, מֶ

durch Angleichung das Fem. הֶמָּה, הֶמָּה ;

II. auf der femininen geschärften Grundform hínna :

das Fem. הֶמָּה, הֶמָּה, הֶמָּה

durch Angleichung das Masc. הֶמָּה, הֶמָּה, הֶמָּה.

Ueber die seltenen femininen Formen auf הֶמָּה, bzw. הֶמָּה, vgl. unten S. 200.

²⁵ Zum Segol vgl. Anm. 9.

²⁶ Es ist klar, dass diese e-Bildungen mit denen in מֶלְכֶם, בָּם u. s. w. nicht gleichen Weens sind; sonst hätten diese aus malk-hém, ba-hém zu מֶלְכֶם, בָּם werden müssen.

II.

Der sogenannte Bindelaut ist gemeinnordsemitisch *ā*; er liegt den hebraeischen wie den aramaeischen suffigirten Endungen—bis auf die gleich zu besprechenden Ausnahmen des Hebr.—zu Grunde. Man hat in ihm wohl mit Recht den alten Casusvocal des Accusativs gesehen, der allein sich beim gewöhnlichen Nomen auch noch ohne Suffixverbindung erhalten hat;²⁷ ebenso beruht die in der Hauptsache übereinstimmende Art, wie das Hebr.-Aram. und das Aethiopische die 3. Pers. Sing. des Perfects suffigiren, auf der ursemitischen Endung *a* dieser Verbalform. Auch bei den suffigirten kurzen Praepositionen liegt dieses *ā* vor; ein Theil derselben lautete urspr. auf *ā* aus, ein anderer Theil wird der allgemein herrschenden Form jener, sowie der Nomina und der suffigirten einfachsten Perfectformen gefolgt sein.²⁸

Dieser Bindevocal ist vor den einsilbigen Suffixen gemeinnordsemitisch Träger des Tons geworden²⁹ und hat hierdurch den nachfolgenden Suffix-Vocal zum Schwinden gebracht, mit der Wirkung, dass der letztere, wenn er identisch mit dem Bindevocal, also *a*, war, bei seinem Abfall diesen verlängerte, z. B. hebr. und aram. *dīnāh* aus *dīnā-hā* "ihr Recht," syr. *dinākh* "dein R." aus *dīnā-kha*;³⁰ wenn er dagegen von diesem verschieden war, bei ihm Umlaut bewirkte; so in gemeinnordsem. *dīnēkh*³¹ aus *dīnā-khi*; aram. *dīnēh* (bibl. mit Mappiq) aus *dīnā-hi*; endlich da, wo durch Ausfall des *h*, in der 3. Person, die beiden Vocale zusammenstiessen, sich beide zum Mischvocal verbanden, wie in hebr. *dīnō* aus *dīnā-hū*;³² ebenso im Aeth. in Verbalformen, die auf *a* ausgehen, wie *nagārō* und Analogiebildungen darnach.

²⁷ Während ך- und ך keine Endungen des gewöhnlichen Nomens sind; vgl. meine Bemerkungen, *ZDMG.*, Bd. 53, S. 593-9.

²⁸ Während im Aethiop. die Praeposs. *la* und *ba* noch in *la-ka la-ki* einer-, *b-ka, b-ki* andererseits auseinandergehalten werden, so dass die Grundform *bi = j* in dieser suffigirten Form noch erscheint, dagegen in dem einfachen *ba*, wie auch in *bō, bā*, die Analogie von *la* u. *And.* durchgedrungen ist.

²⁹ So auch im Aethiop., s. Praetorius, *Aeth. Gr.*, S. 119, und in neuarab. Dialekten, so *lāhu, līhin, līna* in Mardin; vgl. *ZDMG.*, Bd. 36, S. 240, 6, 7; S. 243, 2, 13 u. s. w.

³⁰ Nur bibl.-Aram. *rōšāh* mit kurzem, aber *rōšākh* mit langem *a*; das Syr. hat auch dort *-āh*.

³¹ Syrisch noch archaisch mit unausgesprochenem *i* am Schluss geschrieben, in jüngeren hebr. Formen ך-.

³² So auch im Aethiop., z. B. *nāgārō*.—Wäre das *ā* nicht Tonträger gewesen, so hätten im hebr. Nomen Formen wie neuarab. *nafs•hu* (Mosul) oder *beitū, bū* (Tunis, Mardin) entstehen müssen.

Von dieser alten gemeinnordsemit. Bildungsart heben sich nun aber mehrere regelmässige hebraeische Formen ab, die in dieser Weise nicht entstanden sein können, vielmehr als innerhebraeische Neuentwicklungen anzusehen sind: beim Nomen die Suffixform 1. Pers. Plur. דִּינְנִי statt des zu erwartenden *דִּינְנִי; vgl. בְּנִי, לְנִי, כְּלְנִי, das vereinzelt מוֹדַעְנִי, קִימְנִי, syr. dīnān, targ. dīnā-nā, deren Uebereinstimmung unter einander beweist, dass jenes abnorme ē keine lautliche Umbildung eines ā sein kann;³³ vgl. auch beim Perf. hebr. קָטַלְנִי = syr. qatlan.

Ebenso unerklärt bleiben die Suffixformen der 2. Pers. masc. Sing., sowohl die Contextform דִּינְךָ, לְךָ, bei welcher gegen die alte Norm nicht der Bindevocal ā erhalten, gedehnt und der Schlussvocal α dann abgefallen, also nicht dīnākh gebildet worden ist,³⁴ wie es im gemeinaramaeischen dīnākh, lākh der Norm entsprechend der Fall ist, als auch andererseits die Pausalform דִּינְךָ, weil sie aus der vorauszusetzenden Grundform dīnā-khā nicht erklärbar ist.³⁵ Die von der letzteren thatsächlich ausgegangene Pausalform musste auf דִּינְךָ endigen, wie sie auch thatsächlich bei Praeposs. in בְּךָ, לְךָ, sonst in כְּלְךָ und bei vereinzelt Wörtern, wie נִתְנָךְ, הִבְרָאָךְ Ezek. 28:15, הַשְׁמָדָךְ lautet.

Die eigenartigen hebr. Neubildungen דִּינְנִי und das pausale דִּינְךָ, die sich lautgesetzlich nicht erklären, sind Analogiebildungen nach Substantiven aus Wurzeln לִי, die auf דִּי, im Stat. constr. דִּי, ausgehen. Solche Nomina wie מַעֲשֵׂה, מִחְנֶה, מַעֲשֵׂה, bildeten regelmässig Suffixformen מַעֲשֵׂי, רֵעִי, רֵעֵי, מַעֲשֵׂי, מִחְנֵי, שְׂדֵי³⁶ sowohl im Context als in Pausa. Nach Analogie dieser vocalisch auslautenden Nomina haben nun im Hebr. alle Nomina beim Suffix 1. Pers. Plur. נִי angesetzt, während die Praepositionen (בְּנִי, לְנִי) und ein partikelhaft gebrauchtes Wort wie כְּלְנִי, ganz vereinzelt auch sonst ein Nomen (s. vorher),

³³ Wie Ewald, S. 628, Stade, § 345c ("Dehnung eines aus ā entstandenen ē") annehmen wollten.—Als Rest des Genitiv-ī sehen das ē Wright, *Lectures*, S. 155; König, Bd. 2, S. 11, an. Aber abgesehen davon, dass es misslich wäre, einen sonst ganz verlorenen Casus neben dem Accusativ zum Zweck der Formerklärung wiederaufleben zu lassen, blieben dabei die entsprechenden suffigirten Imperfecte (unten S. 205) unerklärbar.

³⁴ Olshausen, S. 179, versucht keine Erklärung.—Nach König, Bd. 2, S. 11, ist es angeblich "wegen des schweren hellerschallenden Endvocals α" geschehen. Ist denn aber das α des Suffixes hā nicht ebenso schwer und hellerschallend?

³⁵ Ein urspr. ā wird im Hebr. nur durch Einwirkung eines nachfolgenden Segol zu Segol, so in Formen wie מְלִיךָ, aber sonst nicht.

³⁶ Neben dieser Schreibung geht öfter die Pleneform דִּינְךָ her, die ein etymologischer Archaismus ist und von Formen wie שְׂדֵי ausgeht.

jener Analogiewirkung entzogen blieben. So müssen auch vereinzelte Suffixformen der 3. Pers. Sing. masc. mit ִּרְוִי statt des normalen וִּי , wie אִרְוִי , מִיְרְוִי , מוֹיְרְוִי , פִּי־לְגִיְרְוִי , die eine befriedigende Erklärung nicht gefunden haben,²⁷ als sporadische Analogiebildungen nach Formen רִעְוִי , קִצְוִי u. s. w. derselben ל' -Nomina aufgefasst werden.—Dessgleichen erklären sich die ganz isolirten zwei Fälle לִי־מִנָּה ,²⁸ קִרְבָּנָה einer Suffigirung mit der Endung ־נָה für 3. Pers. Plur. fem. statt des regelrechten und gewöhnlichen ־נָה (s. daselbst) aus Analogie nach solchen suffigirten Nomina auf ־נָה , die mit diesem Suffix lautgesetzlich auf ēna bzw. ēnna endigen mussten.

Es bleibt nun aber die Suffixendung ־נָה noch unerklärt, die durch ihr Aufgeben des Binde- und Betonung des Suffixvocalen ganz aus dem Rahmen aller übrigen einsilbigen Suffixe heraustritt und darum auch von der gemeinaramaeischen Endung ākh , die der sonstigen Norm entspricht, verschieden ist. Während nun bei den obigen Abweichungen die hebraeischen Praepositionen im Unterschied von den Substantiven die lautgesetzlich normalen Suffixformen aufweisen, theilen hier die Praepositionen die Abnormalität der Substantive: לִּי , בִּי u. s. w. sind wie הִי־נָה gebildet und unterscheiden sich ebenso wie dieses von dem regelrechten aramaeischen בִּי , לִּי . Das umbildende Moment ist m. E. hier nicht beim Nomen, sondern bei den Praepositionen zu suchen. Das Aethiop. bietet, wie oben Anm. 28 erwähnt, bei verschiedenen Praepositionen mit Suffix der 2. Person zweierlei Formen: la-ka und b°ka , jenes offenbar = arab. لَكَ , dieses = بِكَ . Solche praepos. Form bi = hebr. b° musste nun auch im Hebr. suffigirt בִּי lauten; ihr konnten ohne Weiteres Praepositionen ohne vocalischen Auslaut wie עַם , בֵּן sich anschliessen und עַמִּי , בְּנִי bilden. Es folgte aber auch durch Analogiebildung לִּי und dann die Nomina. Das lautgesetzlich bei la ursprüngliche, auch im Aram. allein erhaltene לִּי verblieb daneben als Pausalform und verbreitete sich von diesem aus als solche durch Analogiebildung über die Praepositionen. So wurde die ursprüngliche vocalische Verschiedenheit von Praepositionen wie bi : la für das Hebr. zum Differenzierungsmittel für Context- und Pausalform bei einer Reihe von Praepositionen. Nachdem die Endung

²⁷ Bei Olshausen, § 131c ohne Erklärung; Stade, § 345c ("Dehnung eines aus d entstandenen ē ").—Gesenius-Kautsch, § 91, gibt keine Erklärung.

²⁸ Hier ist die Schärfung des n nach urspr. Art noch erhalten, beim nächsten Wort nicht mehr; s. oben S. 195.

*khā bei diesen als Contextform etablirt war, griff sie durch Analogie auch auf das Nomen über; auch hier entstand hierdurch eine Contextform קָח . Vielleicht ist die Analogiebildung hier dadurch gefördert worden, dass die entsprechenden Pluralsuffixe כֶּם , כֵּן jetzt keinen wahrnehmbaren Bindevocal mehr vor sich hatten; aber das Singularsuffix *khā lässt immerhin, im Unterschied von den letzteren, den Halbvocal noch vernehmen; es könnte also höchstens eine entferntere Einwirkung vorliegen.— Das קָח mit seinem gedehnten Paenultimavocal eignete sich dafür, daneben zur Pausalform differenzirt zu werden. Dass es aber nicht genetisch zu jenem קָח gehört, ist daraus erwiesen, dass es sich nie bei Praepositionen wie בְּקָח als Pausalform findet; dagegen ist es bei Nomina von לֵדָה (s. S. 200) die lautgesetzlich regelmässige Form.

Als dann selbst die לֵדָה -Nomina wie עֲשֵׂה , מַעֲשֵׂה ihre ursprünglichen Suffixformen עֲשִׂי , מַעֲשִׂי , die äusserlich den Pluralen glichen, verkürzten und ihre suffigirten Formen überwiegend denen des starken Nomens anglichen, wurde auch hier עֲשִׂי , מַעֲשִׂי u. s. w. gebildet,³⁹ so dass nun selbst hier das ehemals alleinherrschende עֲשֵׂה (bezw. מַעֲשֵׂה) nur auf den Gebrauch in der Pausa eingeschränkt wurde.

III.

Zweierlei abnorme Entwicklungen in der Suffixansetzung weisen aramaeische Dialekte auf.

1. Im bibl.-Aramaeischen und in den Targūms erscheinen mehrere Suffixe beim pluralen Nomen in einer Form, welche von der syrischen und hebraeischen ihrem ganzen Wesen nach abweicht. Das Syrische lässt wie das Hebr. die Suffixe beim masc. Plural bekanntlich an die Endung aj des Status constructus antreten.⁴⁰ Mit ihnen stimmen auch mehrere Formen des ebengenannten jüd. Aramaeischen, nämlich רַעֲיוֹנִי , רַעֲיוֹנְךָ , רַעֲיוֹנָם (bezw. רַעֲיוֹן), בִּינְיָדֶיךָ (kri, Dan. 7:8) überein; Alle im bibl.-Aram. und entsprechende in den Targumim auch mit Suffixen der 2. Pers. Pluralis. Diese sind zweifellos die alten ursprünglichen Formen.

³⁹ Wogegen beim Suffix 3. Pers. Sing. der Regel nach keine Analogiebildung stattfindet; vgl. רַעֲיוֹנִי , מַעֲשֵׂה u. s. w.

⁴⁰ Ueber die eigenartige Suffixform אֲנִי der 3. Pers. behalte ich mir vor, in anderem Zusammenhang zu handeln.

Dagegen lauten dieselben Plurale bzw. Praeposs., die Pluralsuffixe haben, mit Suff. 2. Pers. Sing. masc. im bibl.-Aram. רְעִינְךָ, עֲלֶיךָ, קְדָמְךָ im k'ri gegenüber dem k'thib, das überall רִי, רְעִינִיךָ u. s. w. aufweist.“—Targ. Onqelos und Jon. bieten wie das kri בְּנֶךָ “deine Söhne,” z. B. Exod. 10:6; 12:24; בְּתֶךָ “deine Häuser” u. s. w.

Dessgleichen bietet beim Suffix 3. Pers. Sing. fem. das Biblische als k'ri בָּשָׂה, שָׁנָה, רָגְלָה, טָפְרָה, קָדְמָה, עָלָה, während das k'thib überall die Endung יָדָה (נָפְרָה u. s. w.) hat.

In der 1. Pers. Plur. hat das bibl.-Aram. in dem einzigen vorkommenden Fall im kri אִתְּחָנָא für das k'thib אִתְּחָנָא Dan. 3:18“ [dagegen bei Praep. עֲלֵינָא auch im k'ri].—Für die Bildungsart des Targ. genügt es

Onq. zu Exod. 11:9, וּבְחֹרְנָא נִיזִיל וּבְסַבְנָא נִיזִיל ebenso Targ. J. z. St., וּבְחֹרְנָא נִיזִיל וּבְסַבְנָא נִיזִיל hierherzusetzen, um zu belegen, dass es, wie das kri im Biblischen, die Endung ānā hat. Im jer. Targum und jer. Talmud gehen daneben auch Formen mit ינא her.“

Noch weiter geht in dieser Bildungsart das *Mandäische*, in einigen Formen auch das *bab. Talmudische*.“ Das Mand. hat als Suff. 2. Pers. Sing. am Plural wie am Sing. אַך, z. B. רִאֲהֵבְאֶךָ “deine Freunde.”—Beim Suffix 3. Pers. Sing. hat das Mand. Formen wie בְּנָה “seine Söhne,” כִּיפָה “ihre Ufer;” der b. Talmud וְרֵי “seine Füße,” גְּבִינֵיהּ “seine Lider.” Die alte Endung וְרֵי erscheint in beiden Dialekten nur noch in wenigen Beispielen.—Beim Suffix 1. Pers. Plur. erscheint im Mand. das אֶן, das ursprünglich zum sing. Nomen, und das אֶאֶן, das zum pluralen Nomen gehört hat, sowohl bei Singularen als Pluralen.—Auch das Suffix 3. Pers. Plur. וֶן aus וְוֶן setzt sich im Mand. ohne Vermittlung von aj an plurale Nomen an.

Ueber diese eigenartigen, von der altsemitischen Art durchaus verschiedenen, Bildungen ist, so weit ich sehe, kaum noch ein erklärender Versuch gemacht worden mit Ausnahme seitens Nöldekes;⁴¹ er erklärt das Eintreten von ākh für aikh für einen “rein lautlichen Vorgang, der im Mand. durchgeführt” sei.

⁴¹ Vgl. die Nachweise dazu und zum Folgenden bei Luzzato-Krüger, S. 6, 7; Kautzsch, S. 90; Strack¹, § 62; Dalman, S. 163 sq.—Ein Hinweis auf die Seltsamkeit der Bildungen oder ein Erklärungsversuch findet sich bei keinem von ihnen.

⁴² Kautzsch, S. 90.

⁴³ S. Dalman, a. a. O.

⁴⁴ Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, S. 177 sqq.; Luzzato, S. 67.

⁴⁵ A. a. O., S. 176, 177.

Diese Auffassung wird gewiss auch sonst getheilt, und man denkt hierbei vermuthlich als Beleg an die Verschleifung des *j* im hebr. יָ, das *aw* gesprochen wird. Allein hier liegt der Fall ganz anders; das *j* wird noch geschrieben und fiel in der Aussprache nur dadurch weg, dass das *a* mit dem folgenden vocallosen *w* zu einer Art von Diphthong sich verband. Ein solcher Process kann aber nicht vorliegen in den obigen Fällen wie בָּנָי „deine Söhne,” סִבְנָא „unsere Alten,” wo ein *j* nicht geschrieben ist, und wo, wenn das plurale *aj* zu Grunde läge, unbedingt b^enēkh, sābhēnā zu erwarten wäre. Zeigt ja auch das parallele mand. בְּנֵה „seine Söhne,” talm. פְּרִיעָה „seine Füße” mit Suffix *ē* statt auḥi deutlich, dass die pluralen Formen aufgegeben worden sind.—Das bibl. k'thib כְּפִירָה שְׁנִיָּה weist offenbar noch die alten pluralen Suffixformen auf; aber das k'ri כְּפִירָה, שְׁנִיָּה, oder in anderen Ausgaben כְּפִירָה, שְׁנִיָּה, nicht יָה, beweist ebenso deutlich, dass hier in der masoretischen Aussprache, wie in allen obigen Fällen schon in der Consonantenüberlieferung, die *Singularform des Nomens*, nicht der Plural, den Suffixanfügungen des Plurals zu Grunde liegt.

Es liegt in allen diesen Fällen eine *Analogiebildung der suffigirten Masculin-Plurale nach den suffigirten Feminin-Pluralen* vor, welche letzteren bekanntlich im Aramaeischen nach altsemitischer Art dieselben Suffixformen für den Plural wie für den Singular hatten. Während im Hebraeischen die pluralen Suffixe יָ, יָהּ u. s. w. des Masculins durch Analogiebildung auf das Feminin übergriffen, wo ursprünglich nur Formen wie וְיָהּ . . . , וְיָהּ . . . u. s. w. berechtigt waren und im Fall des Suffixes der 3. Pers. Plur. וְיָהּ . . . , וְיָהּ . . . auch thatsächlich bestehen blieben, hat in obigen aramaeischen Dialekten und Formen umgekehrt der Ausgleichungstrieb die masculinen Formen den femininen gleichgebildet: nach Formen des Fem.'s wie בְּנִיָּהּ, בְּנִיָּהּ bildete sich durch Analogie בָּנָי, בְּנִיָּהּ und so in allen Fällen des masculinen Plurals und dann auch bei den Praepositionen, so dass schliesslich selbst עַל, dessen ursprüngliche Form *עַלִי gewesen war und das darum im k'thib noch die alten vollen Formen עַלִיךְ, עַלִיָּה aufweist, die dem Hebr. und Arab. entsprechen, unter dem Druck der Analogie in der k'ri-Aussprache עַלָּה, עַלָּה, ganz wie בָּהּ, בָּהּ bildet.

Diese Analogiebildung ist im bibl.-Aram. und Targum nicht durch alle Personen der Suffixe durchgedrungen; denn das

ursprüngliche ־ , ־ִי der 1. und 3. Pers. Sing. ist erhalten geblieben, wie auch das plurale ־ִי vor dem Suffix der 2. und 3. Pers. Pluralis. Dagegen ist im Mandaäischen die Analogiebewegung zu Ende geführt worden. Jene eingeschränkte Analogiebildung des Westaramäischen hat wieder im Hebraeischen ihr Gegenstück, wo das masculine ־ִי des Plurals nur bei den sonstigen suffigirten Femininen, aber nicht beim Suffix der 3. Pers. Pluralis durchgedrungen ist, wo vielmehr neben Formen wie הַרְבוֹתֵיהֶם gewöhnlicher die ursprünglichen Bildungen wie הַרְבוֹתָם u. A. m. erhalten sind.

2. Eine ebenso abnorme entgegengesetzte Erscheinung zeigt nun aber auch der Dialekt des bab. Talmuds und das Mandaäische: *dass nämlich das Singular-Nomen vor Suffixen oft pluralische Form hat.*

So suffigiren im b. Talmud oft singularische Nomina so wie: נַפְשִׁי "meine Seele," אֲדַעְתִּי "nach meiner Meinung," u. A. m.; ebenso bei Praeposs. schon in der Mischna: מִנִּי "von mir" in dem alten Wortlaut der כְּחוּבָה und des גֵּט (Miš. Kethuböth 10:4; Gittin 9:3). Ebenso im Mand. נַפְשִׁי "meine Person," הַאִילָא "meine Kraft," u. A. m.

Dem entsprechend bilden oft Singularnomina mit Suffix 2. Pers. Sing. im b. Talm. טַעְמִיךְ "dein Grund," פְּסוּקִיךְ "dein Vers," Mand. זָהָאבִיךְ "dein Gold," רִישִׁיךְ "dein Haupt" u. A. (neben Formen mit singularischer Endung auf ־ִי).

Mit Suffix 1. Pers. Plur. oft im b. Talm. רִעְתִּין , פְּסוּקִין , im Mand. רִאשָׁאִין "unser Kopf," קֶלְלָאִין "unsere Stimme" (neben singularischem רִאשָׁא u. s. w.).

Ebenso bietet das Mand. und b. Talmudische bei den Suffixen ־ִי , ־ִיךְ Singularnomina mit Pluralform; wie mand. עֲבִידִיהוֹן לְבוּשֵׁי־הוֹן "ihre, eure Mutter," לִיבֵי־הוֹן "Euer Herz," גְּלִימֵי־הוֹן "ihr Kleid," u. A. m.—b. talm. פּוֹמֵי־הוֹן "Euer Mund," גְּלִימֵי־הוֹן "ihr Mantel," u. A.

Auch diese befremdlichen Bildungsweisen, die noch nicht erklärt sind, zeigen eine untereinander übereinstimmende Abweichung von der altaramäischen Norm. Man könnte daran denken, dass hier Analogiebildungen nach solchen Nomina von ל־ -Wurzeln vorlägen, die auf ־ִי im Singular ausgelautet haben (wie hebr. שָׂדֵי), z. B. אִתִּי , der ehemalige Status absolutus von

⁴⁶ Luzzato und Nöldeke, a. a. O.

מִן, מִן, dass מִן etwa dem מִן mit radicaler Endung a j gefolgt wäre.

Es ist mir aber wahrscheinlicher, dass diese Erscheinungen Wirkungen jener ersten Suffixumbildung sind, wonach plurale Nomina nur vor einem Theil der Suffixe ihre pluralische Form bewahrten, aber vor anderen der Analogie der Singulare folgten (oben No. III, 1). Standen sonach bei demselben masculinen Plural regelmässig Formen, wie z. B. בְּנֵי, בְּנֵי neben בְּנֵי, בְּנֵי, so musste das Gefühl dafür, dass Formen mit der Endung י- speciell pluralischen Charakters seien, in der lebendigen Sprache erlöschen. Wie dort Singularformen z. Th. den Plural vertraten, so konnte die Numerusmengung in einem Dialekt fortschreiten, und konnten in Folge davon pluralische Suffixe für den Singular eintreten.

IV.

Auch die *Suffixirung am Verb* bietet im Nordsemitischen eine Reihe von räthselhaften Erscheinungen.

Während in der einfachsten Perfectform, 3. Pers. Sing. Perf., die Suffixe seit ursemitischer Zeit vermittelt *a*, des ehemaligen Schlussvocals dieser Form, antreten und im Aram. der unvermehrte Sing. und 1. Pers. Plur. des Imperfects die meisten Suffixe nach Analogie jener Perfectform anfügt, erscheint im Hebr. in diesen Imperfectformen ein *ē* (יִקְטִילִי u. s. w.) vor den Suffixen,⁴⁷ dessen Ursprung dunkel ist. Die Annahme, dass das hebr. Imperfect im Indicativ jemals auf *i* ausgelautet habe (Böttcher, Merx), hat keinerlei Thatsache zur Stütze und kommt daher nicht in Betracht. Der Jussiv lautete consonantisch aus, wie die Verkürzung der langen Vocale in den Endsilben von תַּמּוּת (= arab. tamūt), יִקְהֵל erweisen; es kann also auch kein Residuum dieses Modus vorliegen. Das beim Jussiv von arabischen Dichtern nur im Reimzwang gebildete jaqtūli ist, im Hinblick auf die Uebereinstimmung von arab. jamūt, jaqūm mit hebr. יָמוּת, יָקוּם, ebensowenig etwas ursprüngliches wie das ihm zur Seite gehende, gleichfalls der poetischen Lizenz eigenthümliche *i* im Perf. 3. Pers. Sing., z. B. כָּלַת oder bei Partikeln, wie in קַדִּי, קַמִּי.—Dass das *ē* nicht eine Umbildung von *u* sein kann, wie

⁴⁷ Auch das Segol von יִקְטִילִי geht auf Zērē zurück; vor suffigirtem Kamez verwandelt sich Zērē in Segol; vgl. den Stat. Constructus יִקְטִילִי mit יִקְטִילִי.

seltener Weise König (Bd. 2, S. 443), oder von *a*, wie Stade (S. 348) annehmen will, bedarf keines weiteren Belegs.

Es liegt vielmehr Analogiebildung nach der einzigen Classe von Verben, deren Imperfect seiner Natur nach vocalischen Auslaut hatte, nach den Verbis ל"ה, vor. Die Imperfecte dieser Verba יַעֲשֶׂה, יִגְלֶה, יִרְאֶה bildeten ihre suffigirten Formen regelrecht wie יַעֲשֶׂה, יִגְלֶה, יִרְאֶה u. s. w. Ihnen folgten nun die Imperfecte aller übrigen Verba, die consonantisch endigten und eines Bindelautes bedurften, nach und setzten ihre Suffixe, wie sie an: יִקְטֹלֶהוּ, יִשְׁמְרֶנִּי u. s. w.—Ohne Bindevocal treten die 2. Pers. masc. Sing. und Plur. an (die 2. Plur. fem. kommt nicht vor): יִקְטֹלְךָ, יִקְטֹלְכֶם; das sind dieselben Personen, die auch im Perfect eines Bindevocals entbehrten: קָטַלְךָ, קָטַלְכֶם. Es erhellt hieraus, dass für das Bedürfniss nach einem Bindelaut beim suffigirten Imperfect die Existenz oder Nichtexistenz eines solchen bei der entsprechenden Perfectform bestimmend eingewirkt hat.

Dass die 2. Pers. Sing. des Imperativs consonantisch schloss, ist ohne Weiteres sicher. Wenn sie nun mit Suffixen Formen wie יִדְעֶהוּ, יִשְׁמְרֶנִּי u. s. w. bildet, so erklärt sich dies wieder aus der Analogiebildung nach den entsprechenden ל"ה-Imperativen יִדְעֶנִּי, יִשְׁמְרֶנִּי u. s. w., die die regelrechten Suffixformen von יִדְעֶה, יִשְׁמְרֶה waren.—Diese Vorgänge bei suffigirten Verbalformen sind also mit denen beim Nomen im Suffix נִי, נֶה (oben S. 200) parallel.

Associative Vorgänge verwandter Art liegen m. E. auch einigen suffigirten Formen im *Syrischen* zu Grunde. Der Imperativ 2. Pers. Sing. masc. des starken Verbs setzt bekanntlich Suffixe durch Vermittlung von *ai* an ($q^{\circ}tol-ai-n^i$, $q^{\circ}tol-ai-n$, $q^{\circ}tol-ēh$,⁴⁸ dies aus $q...ai-h[\bar{a}]$), welches aus dem consonantisch endigenden Imperativ des starken Verbs nicht stammen kann.⁴⁹ Das Syrische besitzt aber in den Imperativen von א"ל: מַעַב, מַעַב von Verben mit *i*-Perfect, deren ersteres transitiv ist, und neben dem sicher einst im Syrischen eine grössere Anzahl

⁴⁸ Vgl. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.* 2, S. 139.—Ich finde aber auch *habai h* "gib sie!" Exod. 22:26 (Oroom.).

⁴⁹ Auch nicht aus der Endung des hebr. imperativischen קָטַלְךָ, an die Nöldeke (*ZDMG.*, Bd. 23, S. 285) erinnert hat. Denn selbst wenn man diese auch als einst im Syrischen vorhanden annehmen wollte, ist doch die Entsprechung von קָטַלְךָ und *aj* nicht beweisbar, und die hebr. Endung, die ja auch im Imperfect erscheint, ist als Aequivalent derjenigen des arab. Subjunctivs anzusehen, also = *a*, nicht *ai*.

vorhanden waren, Bildungen, die an ihren diphthongischen Ausgang leicht Suffixe anfügten und darum die Analogiebildung der obigen suffigirten bewirkt haben werden.

Mit Suffix der 3. Pers. Sing. masc. bildet das Syrische **مُتَكِم**. Diese Form folgte m. E. den ehemaligen Imperativen von Verben *tertia* hamzatae, von denen jetzt im Peal nur noch *tā* "komm" erhalten ist, während die 2. Pers. masc. der Imperative der vermehrten Conjugationen von **ن** ihnen ebenfalls durchweg gefolgt sind: *gallā*, *'aglā* u. s. w. Auch im Peal liegt sie überall den anderen Personen zu Grunde: *g^olā-i*, *g^ola-u*, *g^olā-jēn*.

Eine Personalendung *ēn* der 3. Pers. Plur. fem. tritt im Syrischen sowohl im Perf., als im Imperativ auf: **مُتَكِمِي**, **مُتَكِمِي**. Keine andere Sprache bietet ein Aequivalent für sie; dass sie eine jüngere Bildung ist, beweist auch, wie Nöldeke hervorgehoben hat, die Erhaltung des offenen Paenultima-*a* im Perfect. Ihr Ursprung erklärt sich aus denselben Imperativen mit diphthongischem Ausgang **أَمْتَد**, **تَمْتَد** und den ehemaligen anderen Formen dieser Art. Trat an diese die ursemitische Endung *na* von **קִטְלָנָה** = arab. *uqtul-na* an, so ergaben sich durch den regelmässigen Abgang des Schlussvocals im Syrischen Formen *'eštai-n*, *imai-n*, deren Endung nach dem bekannten syrischen Gesetz zu *ēn* werden musste. Vom Imperfect aus wurde sie, deren Ursprung nun unkenntlich geworden, auf das Perfect übertragen. Ob für diese Uebertragung die gleichfalls jüngere masculine Perf.-Endung *qetal-ūn*, ebenfalls mit einem *n*, aber hier vom Imperfect her, den Anlass gegeben, oder umgekehrt das Feminin für dieses Masc., bleibe dahingestellt; ein Zusammenhang beider Vorgänge besteht jedenfalls.

V.

Ein Suffix eigener Art ist das masc. **تَمْتَكِم**, fem. **تَمْتَكِمِي**, welche an das syrische unvermehrte Imperfect antreten, wie **تَمْتَكِم**, **تَمْتَكِمِي**⁵⁰ u. s. w., und die eine befriedigende Erklärung bisher nicht gefunden haben. Das *t* kann kein ursprünglicher Auslaut des Imperfects gewesen sein, weil die einfache Imperfectform bei keiner Classe auf *t* ausging. Auch ist jede Deutung, die darauf

⁵⁰ Auch bei der 2. Pers. Sing. Perf. **مُتَكِمْتَكِم**, **مُتَكِمْتَكِمِي**. Hier liegt der Fall aber nicht klar, weil das Verb auf *t* endigte, und dadurch die reine Form des Suffixes nicht zu erkennen ist.

beruht, dass in der Masc.-Form das Suffix *hū* enthalten sei,⁵¹ darum hinfallig, weil das Syr. ein solches Suffix nirgends besitzt. Ich glaube nicht fehlzugehen, wenn ich in ihm das selbständige, betonte Pronomen אֲנִי "er," אֲנִי (seltener אֲנִי, s. Levy, *TW. u. d. W.*) "sie" sehe, welches z. B. in Targumim und namtl. im bab. Talmud häufig ist. Es ist im Syr. zum Objectsgebrauch differenzirt (wie z. B. ܐܢܝܝܢ im Syr., das daneben im Aram. als Subjectsform erhalten ist) und als solche suffigirt. Bei der femininen Form ist der tonlose Endvocal, wie gewöhnlich, abgefallen. Beim Masc. war nach dem Ausfall des intervocalischen *h* in *ܐܢܝܢܐ das Suffix unkenntlich geworden und wurde nun secundär noch durch ܐ vermehrt, wie aus gleicher Ursache z. B. das targum. אֲנִי im Syr. aus *ܐܢܝܢܐ zu ܐܢܝܢܐ erweitert worden ist.— Die Perf.-Form ܐܢܝܢܐ hat dasselbe Suffix angenommen, weil ihr *t* mit dem anlautenden *t* des Suffixes eng verschmelzen konnte.

⁵¹ Wie von Schwally, *ZDMG.*, Bd. 51, S. 254, der das Masc. aus *hū + hī* herleitet, das vorangehende *t* aber unerklärt lassen muss; und von Brockelmann, *Syr. Gramm.*, § 195, Anm. 5, der nur das *hū* darin enthalten sieht, sonst aber keine Erklärung versucht.

THE EMPHATIC STATE IN ARAMAIC.

BY PROFESSOR ED. KÖNIG, M.A., D.D.,
University of Bonn, Germany.

There are not many phenomena in the Semitic languages the origin of which is as much in question as is that of the so-called Emphatic State in Aramaic. One may learn this fact from the variety of opinions on the Emphatic State which are given. On the one hand, some scholars do not venture to express an opinion upon the derivation of the form in question. Among these is Marti, who in his *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache* (1896), § 70, observes a profound silence in regard to the rise of the Emphatic State. The same cautiousness is observed by H. Zimmern in his *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (1898), § 57, *g*, who simply says that the stem which has developed into the termination of the Emphatic State is an obscure one.¹ On the other hand, many scholars offer a derivation of the Emphatic State, but they differ greatly in their attempted solutions.

One party thinks that it is the accusative of the Old Semitic languages which has developed into the Emphatic State. This opinion has been set forth by me in my *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgeb. der hebr. Sprache*, Vol. II (1895), p. 431. Hubert Grimme has also remarked in his *Grundzüge der hebräisches Accent- und Vocalehre* (1896), p. 41, Anm. 1, that the Emphatic State in Aramaic can hardly represent anything else than an obsolete accusative. Nor is G. Kampffmeyer, in a very interesting paper recently published,² less inclined to approve this solution of the problem.

Another circle of students holds that the Emphatic State represents the union of the noun with an original demonstrative syllable. In this way the question is answered, for instance, by the following scholars: Nöldeke, *Mandäische Gram.*, § 216;

¹ H. Zimmern's words read: "Im Aramäischen erfolgt die Determination durch ein, seinem Ursprung nach dunkles, am Wortende tretendes Element a."

² G. Kampffmeyer on "Sädarabisches," *ZDMG.*, 1900, p. 630.

Syr. Gram., § 70, and *Die semitischen Sprachen* (2d ed., 1899), p. 40; Duval, *Grammaire syriaque* (1880), p. 249; Kautzsch, *Gram. des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (1884), § 52; W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (1890), p. 152; J. Barth, in *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES*, Vol. XIII (1896-97), p. 12; Strack, *Gram. des bibl. Aramäischen* (1897), § 7; M. Schultze, *Die aramäische Muttersprache Jesu* (1899), § 41.

Let us now examine which of these two ways is to be chosen in order to find the true solution to this enigma.

1. It is a well-known fact in the history of languages that the accusative yields a new and fuller form to the nominative. In fact, documents illustrating this remarkable process are at hand.³ Is not the form *πατρίδα*, which everyone recognizes as the accusative of the word *πατρίς* in Old Greek, the nominative in the Neo-Hellenistic language? Is not the phrase "the fatherland" expressed through *ἡ πατρίδα*? Is the French *raison* not an echo of the Latin accusative *rationem*? The psychological cause of this phenomenon is to be sought, in all probability, in the circumstance that the accusative indicates the goal to which the majority of all the verbs point. Hence it is easily understood that the accusative form of the nouns received the first place in the so-called linguistic consciousness of a people. From the same source is to be derived the widespread use of the accusative to indicate extension, manner, or the indefinite *relation*, either of an act or of a state. The various uses of the accusative which are called "the vessel" (*aḏ-ḏarfu*), "the circumstance" (*al-ḥālu*), and "the specification" (*at-tamjīzu*) in the Arabic grammar are illustrated by a mass of Hebrew and other examples in my *Syntax*; cf. §§ 328, c; 332, a; 326, d; 332, a, g-l; 338, x; and §§ 328, c, g; 333, b, β; cf. § 336, h-k. Thus it could happen that the accusative form of the nouns took upon itself the function of the former nominative.

Semitic languages show the following evidences of this development of the old accusative. There are passages in the writings that belong to the Middle Age of the Arabic literature in which nouns with the accusative ending *an* are read, whereas we should

³ A large number of examples of this linguistic process, taken from the Greek and the French languages, will be found in my little book entitled *Hebräisch und Semitisch. Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Geschichte der semitischen Sprachen, nebst einem Exkurs über die vorjordanische Sprache Israels und den sprachlichen Charakter der Pentateuchquelle PC* (1901), pp. 15 sqq.

expect the nominative. Both Spitta-Bey⁴ and K. Vollers⁵ have established this phenomenon. Within the Old Hebrew scriptures, again, words ending in *ā*⁶ are met with quite frequently. A complete list of all these words is given in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, pp. 432 sq. It is not only that the form of these words has become a fuller one by this ending *ā*, but the meaning of these words also possesses a great emphasis.⁷ In one passage, at least, such a form signifies the absolute degree of a conception, viz., Jon. 2:10b, where the words *יְשׁוּעָתָה לַיהוָה* should be rendered "the salvation belongs to the Lord." (Cf. the other passages collected in my *Syntax*, § 269, a-c.) Thus, we may say, these forms fulfil to some extent the function of nouns provided with the definite article. Moreover, this termination *ā* is an echo of the accusative ending *an*, which is reduced to the simple sound *a*, when the word is in some way determined. This origin of the Hebrew *ā* has been explicitly acknowledged by J. Barth.⁸ If we would appeal, with W. Wright,⁹ to an older syllable *a*, the phonetical relation between Arabic and Hebrew would demand that the termination in question possess the vowel *o*. Further Old Testament passages where the accusative, indicated by the preposition *אֵל*, represents the subject of a sentence are set forth in my *Syntax*, § 270, a-c. There may also be found there the traces of this tendency in the use of the accusative which are met with in the Neo-Hebrew and the later Aramaic literatures (§ 270, f).

These facts, occurring in the history of the accusative, furnish a sufficiently strong motive for asking the question whether the

⁴ Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Ägypten* (1880), p. 147.

⁵ Vollers in his "Beiträge zur lebenden arabischen Sprache in Ägypten" (*ZDMG.*, 1887, pp. 365 sqq.) says: "Die Accusativendung findet sich an Stellen, wo syntactisch der Nominativ erwartet wird."

⁶ Already in my *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* I have commended the following mode of indicating the length of the Semitic vowels: (a) The long vowels whose lengthening is due to the accent are provided with a simple horizontal line; e. g., *ā*. (β) When the length of a vowel is caused through a phonetical transformation of the syllable in question, a Greek circumflex is to be employed; e. g., *ᾱ*. (γ) In the cases where the length of a vowel is an original one I put the common circumflex over the vowel; e. g., *ᾱ*. Now again I plead for this manner of characterizing the different kinds of long vowels in Semitic. This method, in my opinion, is very instructive.

⁷ Besides, it is falsely said that the words ending in *ā* were used in order to effect the regularity of the rhythm. See on this point my *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik, in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur comparatively dargestellt* (1900), p. 333.

⁸ J. Barth in his paper "Über die Casusreste im Hebräischen" (*ZDMG.*, 1899, p. 599). Some other opinions proposed in this paper are examined in my book, *Hebräisch und Semitisch*, etc. (1901), *passim*.

⁹ Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 143.

Aramaic forms ending in *ā* do not contain either a direct or an indirect remnant of the Old Semitic accusative forms. There is no doubt, for instance, that the former words *malkan* and *malkatan* can have been preserved in *malkā* “(the) king” and *malk^otā* “(the) queen.” But can it be made verisimilar that the emphatic plural form *malkè* “(the) kings” is a reduced form of an earlier *malkaina*?

The termination *aina*, to be sure, is to be presupposed as the ending of the oblique case of the so-called masculine plurals¹⁰ in Old Aramaic. This results from the *ai*, the actual termination of the construct state of the plural forms in Syriac.¹¹ The *-aina*, thus attested, was the genitive and accusative form of *-ana*. This termination indicated the nominative of the masculine plural, as is seen from the Ethiopic ending *an* of the masculine plural, and the same *-an* is probably to be recognized in such a form as, for instance, *besmānè*, the plural of *besmā* “odor.”¹² Now, the above-mentioned ending *-aina* could be transformed into *è* through a triple process. The *-aina* could lose its second *a* just as easily as this sound has become silent in many other endings. (Compare the Old Arabic *-ina* with the Modern Arabic *-in*, etc.) The *ain*, thus won, could be differentiated from the dual termination *-ain* (*cf.* the Syriac *terèn* “two,” etc.) by neglecting the nasal sound in the same manner as in the case of the *n*, which is often lost in the plural ending *in*.¹³ Finally, the existence of the diphthongal termination *ai* in the construct state of the plural (for instance, *malkai*) might argue for the pronunciation of the *ai* of *ain* as the monophthong *ae* or *è*. The same pronunciation *malke* or *malki* is today heard in the Modern Syriac.¹⁴

Of course, the derivation of the Emphatic State of the feminine plural would not make any difficulty. The form *malkatan* could be the prototype of *malkatā* “(the) queens.” Or did the

¹⁰ Many Semitic words which are of the masculine gender express the plural number through the termination *āt*, and *vice versa*.

¹¹ Compare the derivation of this *ai* given in *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 435.

¹² Brockelmann in his *Syrische Grammatik* (1899), § 121, derives the above-mentioned syllable *an* in the same way.

¹³ The simple *ʾ* as the sign of the termination in the *absolute* state of the plural is found in the Zengīrlī Hadad and Panammu inscription. All the examples (𐤏𐤍𐤏, etc.) are found in M. Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (1898), p. 397. The other traces of *i* and *e* as the terminations of the *absolute* state of the plural found in Assyrian, Ethiopic, etc., are collected in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 435.

¹⁴ Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac* (1895), § 18, 1.

plural ending *ātun* not possess an accusative form *ātan*? This question is answered in the affirmative by the Ethiopic accusative termination *āta* (cf. furthermore my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 429).

If we suppose this to have been the origin of the Aramaic ending *ā*, it is by no means surprising that the absolute position and the emphasis, hence resulting, in the use of nouns terminating in such an *ā* were easily neglected. Indeed, they are not determined in Old Syriac,¹⁵ and the modern Syrians look on the so-called Emphatic State of nouns as "the normal one."¹⁶ These nouns could have the same fate as obsolete accusatives of other languages.

Yet are there not obstacles which prevent altogether this derivation of the Emphatic State?

These difficulties are, in the first line, connected with the Emphatic State of the plural forms ending in *i(n)*. Did their Emphatic State end originally with the *è* of *malkè*? Did the termination of this form not consist formerly of the syllables *aijā*?

In Syriac the small group of plural forms ending in *aijā* embraces, for the most part, such words as *benaijā* "(the) sons," and other "biliteral" nouns.¹⁷ May we not find in such forms an old increment of the small volume of these words? Cannot the extension of the body of such words be akin to the increment which is exhibited, for instance, in *'abāhatā* "(the) fathers"? Furthermore, one of the Syriac words terminating in *aijā* is indeed a secondary one; the form *'appa* "(the) face," when the ending was still pronounced diphthongally, prolonged itself according to the analogy of other emphatic forms, and thus the word *'appaijā* "(the) curtain" arose.

Yet it is necessary, again, not to neglect the following fact: Forms ending with *aijā* occur in such old texts as the Zengīrlī inscriptions. There we read, for instance, מלכיא.¹⁸ Is this fact not a cogent proof that the termination *aijā* is the primary one? But we must not forget that the same inscriptions contain phenomena of a doubtless secondary character. Here is one instance,

¹⁵ Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, § 98.

¹⁶ Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac* (1895), § 16.

¹⁷ Brockelmann, *Syr. Gram.*, § 117: "Zweiradicalige Nomina."

¹⁸ In the so-called "Bau-Inschrift," l. 14.

at least: the masculine plural of the imperfect has in these inscriptions no other ending than the mere *a*; e. g., יִקְדֹּר, etc.

Finally, the following circumstance is not to be disregarded. The Palmyrene inscriptions, dating from the last century B. C. to the third century A. D.,¹⁹ offer such forms as מִלְכָּא, etc., side by side with such forms as יִרְיָא, etc. From this fact is not the conclusion to be drawn that the ending *è*, which is wanting in the Zengīrlī inscriptions hitherto found, is the later one? This conclusion is, however, not an absolutely certain one. The following objection may be brought forward: All the forms of the masculine plural of the imperfect have the ending *ûn* in the Palmyrene inscriptions.²⁰ Now, beyond any doubt this termination *ûn* is the prototype of the mere *a* occurring in the Zengīrlī inscriptions. Consequently there is the possibility that the plural forms מִלְכָּא, etc., represent an older stage in the evolution of the Emphatic State of the so-called masculine plural.

In Syriac, too, the ending *ûn* reigns throughout in the plural of the imperfect. Is it, then, impossible that the termination *è* which characterizes the Emphatic State of the so-called masculine plural in the same language should mark a former stadium in the development of Aramaic dialects?

Moreover, a few words are to be added regarding the emphatic forms of the demonstrative pronouns. One reads זֶנָּה and זֶנָּה in the sense of the masculine "this" in the Zengīrlī Panammu inscription, l. 22, etc.²¹ These fuller forms *zenā*, etc., offer no difficulty, if we accept the explanation of the Emphatic State which is detailed in the above remarks.

2. The second way of deriving the Emphatic State in Aramaic leads to the following solution of the problem. One sees in the Emphatic State the combination of the noun with a demonstrative syllable. Let us now examine the difficulties which result from this opinion.

(a) A first difficulty is to be seen in the following fact: It has been shown above from the words of Brockelmann and of Maclean that the so-called emphatic forms do not possess a determination either in the older Syriac or in the modern Syriac. Did it, therefore, happen that the language chose a special mark of

¹⁹ Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Sprachen*, 2d ed. (1899), p. 36.

²⁰ See Lidsbarski's *Handbuch*, etc., p. 400.

²¹ On the corresponding forms *dên* and *dênā* one may consult Kautsch's *Gram. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, § 20, and Nöldeke's *Syr. Gram.*, §§ 67 sq.

the determination only in order to neglect this mark? It does not seem to be easy to answer this question in the affirmative.

(b) A similar objection proceeds from the following circumstance: If we decide that the Emphatic State grew out of the postposition of a demonstrative *a*, we must concede that this syllable has been dropped in a great number of these forms (מִלְכָּא, etc.). The case would be as follows: The syllable *a* would have been added on purpose to secure a longer form, and then this ending would have been cut off again.

To be sure, an explanation of this subsequent abbreviation is proposed. Appeal is made commonly to the so-called "nomina gentilitia," or nouns indicating a relation, which in Aramaic end with the syllable *āj*. This explanation is offered, for instance, by Brockelmann in his *Syrische Grammatik* (1899), § 100. There we read that *jaunājaijā*, the regular form, which is to be expected in the plural Emphatic State of the word *jaunāj* "Greek," was shortened to *jaunājè*. However, it is a question whether this form is the more original one or is only an abbreviation of *jaunājaijā*. Why could not this fuller form be preserved? Was the similarity of the last two syllables a sufficient motive to shorten the word?

But let us suppose that such forms as *jaunājè* or *kasdājè* (Dan. 2:5), etc., were created through an abbreviation; nevertheless the opinion is not a quite natural one that this abbreviation was imitated by all the other nouns. If the shortened form of nouns like *jaunājaijā* was caused by the similarity of their last two syllables, would not this process be perspicuous enough? Why, then, has this single class of words (*jaunājè*, etc.) wielded such an extraordinary influence? Why has the analogy of the above-mentioned forms, *benaijā*, etc., in spite of their frequency, not exercised the same influence? It is not easy to answer these questions, and the opinion that the forms *malkaijā*, etc., were shortened is the more difficult, because the construct state, *malkai*, etc., existed. Did this form not contain a protest sufficiently loud against the shortening of the form *malkaijā*, etc.?

(c) To which form of the so-called masculine plurals²² was the demonstrative syllable *a* postfixed?

Was the *a* annexed to the "construct state"? This question is answered in the affirmative both by Brockelmann and by

²² See above, p. 210, note 3.

Kautzsch.²³ Yet such an annexion cannot have been the original idea of the language. Such an annexion is in opposition to the natural relation of substantives and demonstratives. Whenever a substantive is determined by a demonstrative, both are coördinated. Look to the so-called *mimation* and *nünation*, and you have the best evidence. There the *m* or *n* is, in the first line, annexed to the absolute state of the nouns. Compare the Arabic form *malikû-na* "kings."

Or can it be presupposed that the ending *ai* of *malkai* was formerly the termination of the *absolute* state of the plural? This opinion was indeed accepted by G. Hoffmann in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* (1887), p. 605.²⁴ He gives no basis for it, however, and I think that a basis cannot be found in the Assyrian. In this language there are forms of the absolute state of the plural which do not terminate in *a*, but in an ending to be pronounced either as *i* or as *e*.²⁵ H. Winckler holds in his *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (1892), p. 169, that this plural termination, according to the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, had no other pronunciation than *i*. At any rate, to suppose that the original ending of the so-called masculine plurals in Syriac is preserved only in the Emphatic State is very questionable.

(d) A last difficulty will be met with by us as we now proceed to examine the origin of the syllable *a* itself.

(a) No doubt there is a complex of demonstrative elements which is pronounced 'a. One finds this syllable in the Hebrew adverbs *זֶה*, *הֵן*, etc.,²⁶ whilst the Phœnician *זֶה* "this"²⁷ and the Aramaic *זֶה*²⁸ probably contain a mere prothetic sound,²⁹ rather than the above-mentioned syllable 'a. At all events, this syllable cannot have possessed from the beginning a long vowel. Such a one would, in Hebrew, be transformed into *o*. Hence it would be

²³ Brockelmann, *Syr. Gram.*, § 100, writes: "Der Pluralis masculinus hat die Endung *ܐ* [in], st. constr. *ܐ* [ai], emph. *ܐܐ* [aija];" and Kautzsch, *Gram. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, § 52, says explicitly: "Das determinirende *a* tritt an die (im Syrischen noch erhaltene) ursprüngliche Endung des Status constructus *ܐ*— [ai] an."

²⁴ G. Hoffmann, *loc. cit.*, says that "der Status constructus pluralis ist für einen ehemaligen Status absolutus zu halten."

²⁵ Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, § 67a.

²⁶ Cf. my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, pp. 249, 365.

²⁷ Bloch, *Phœnicisches Glossar*, pp. 27 sq.; Lidsbarski, *Handbuch*, etc., p. 264.

²⁸ *זֶה* is detected by J. Barth and others in the Zengirli Panammu inscription, l. 2.

²⁹ See the instances of such a prothetic sound which are cited from the Old Testament, the Mišna, the Mandaic (*ܐܝܬܐ*), etc., in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, pp. 498 sq.

a somewhat audacious opinion if we were to find the source of the ending of the Emphatic State in the syllable 'a.

(β) Appeal has been made to the syllable *hā* occurring in the Arabic *hādā*, etc., "this," etc. For instance, W. Wright (*Comparative Grammar*, etc., p. 152) derives "gubrajja from ܡܒܪܝܝܬܐ." Yet this syllable *hā* always preserved its *spiritus asper*, for instance in the Syriac *hānā* "dieser," or in the feminine ܡܢܗܐ,³⁰ or in *hādē*, etc., but the same syllable *hā* would have lost its *spiritus asper* when annexed to nouns. This difficulty has not been overlooked by J. Barth in his article in this JOURNAL (Vol. XIII, p. 12). After he had found for himself the source of the Emphatic State's ending in this syllable *hā*, he added a remark which destroys the edifice constructed previously by himself. Hear his own words:

Nicht als ob man ohne weiteres das aramäische *ā* des Emphaticus als ein angehängtes *hā* ansehen dürfte. Denn in diesem Falle müsste jedes ܐ des Emphaticus singularis feminini ein hartes *t* haben, weil es aus *t* + *hā* kontrahiert wäre, und Endungen mit aspirirtem ܐ, wie in ܡܢܗܐ ["profit" or "income"] und in allen gleichgebildeten Formen sowie in den Nomina auf ܐܐ, ܐܐܐ, etc., wären kaum erklärlich. Soviel zeigen wenigstens diese und die ähnlichen Fälle, dass das Aramäische sich keiner Endung *hā*, sondern nur einer Endung ܐ bewusst war.³¹

³⁰ ܡܢܗܐ is written in an Aramaic inscription, found at Teima in Arabia, which is reproduced in Lidsbarski's *Handbuch*, etc., p. 447, where in l. 15 we read ܡܢܗܐ ܥܕܪܩܐܢܐ.

³¹ The same syllable *hā*, occurring in the Arabic *hādā*, in the Aramaic ܡܢܗܐ, etc., is said by J. Barth (in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIII, pp. 8 sq.) to be the prototype of the Hebrew article. But (a) first let us not overlook the following two circumstances: (a) A long vowel *ā* is, as a rule, transformed into *ō* in Hebrew. The exceptions, viz., ܡܢܗܐ, etc. (cf. my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, pp. 140 sq., 355), are caused through the circumstance that these words, ܡܢܗܐ, etc., bear a character more Aramaic than Hebrew. (β) After a long vowel the doubling of the following consonant would not be expected. Barth, indeed, appeals to the doubled consonants which are met with sometimes after ܡܢܗܐ. But the vowel *a* of ܡܢܗܐ, as to its quantity, is a short or an anceps one (see the full discussion of this point in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 368, rem. 1).—(b) Furthermore, there is certainly in Arabic the demonstrative syllable *al*, and the pronunciation *hal* has been heard by Wallin (*ZDMG.*, Vol. VI, p. 217). The same syllable *al* is a component of the Arabic *alladī*, with which the Hebrew ܡܢܗܐ corresponds, in spite of Barth's objections. The Arabic syllables *al* or *hal*, therefore, are the nearest analogies of the Hebrew article. A similar phenomenon is the syllable *han*, which is read in the lihyanic inscriptions found at el-Oela in north Arabia (see the discussion of this *han* undertaken in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 369).—(c) Barth, indeed, thinks (in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIII, p. 9) that, if one combines the Arabic and the Hebrew article, the forms ܡܢܗܐ, ܡܢܗܐ, etc., contain "eine Verbindung des Artikels mit dem Personalpronomen," and this pretended connection is called by him a monstrous one. But this judgment appears to me an erroneous one. If the Hebrews chose phrases like ܡܢܗܐ ܡܢܗܐ, etc., the demonstrative ܡܢܗܐ has received the function of an attribute. Have we not the same case with the Latin *is*, or *ille*? Are these words not employed partly as self-dependent words (i. e., as pronouns) and partly as attributes (i. e., as adjectives)? At any rate, the syllable ܡܢ (ha), employed in phrases like *bayyōm ha hū*, is the article, whencesoever this *ha* is to be derived.

According to these words, Barth himself has to forego the syllable *hā* as the original termination of the Emphatic State. Hence he has recourse to a syllable '*a*'. However, such a demonstrative syllable is altogether lacking in Aramaic or in Old Semitic. Barth, it is true, appeals to the *a* which is spoken in the modern Arabic *a-di* "this here," etc. (Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, p. 76). Yet an Old Semitic phenomenon is, in my opinion, to be illustrated through forms which belong to the same stage in the evolution of the same language.

Of course, there is a syllable *hā* which, in Ethiopic, characterizes the accusative of a class of nouns. But we have seen in the above treatise that a syllable commencing with a *spiritus asper* is scarcely the germ whence the termination of the Emphatic State grew up. If the Semitic ending of the accusative, the vowel *a(n)*, has its origin in the Ethiopic *hā* (see on this point my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 428), this process contains nothing but a hint as to the *ideal* relation which exists between the accusative and a noun, conjoined with a demonstrative syllable.

(γ) Lately another source for the termination of the Emphatic State is thought to have been discovered. Its ending *ā* is said to be the echo of the south Arabic termination *hān* or *an*. This is the view of Hommel.³²

Now, the consonant *n* that is written in the end of nouns in the Minæo-Sabæan inscriptions may be regarded with a high grade of probability as having grown up out of the postfixed demonstrative *hān* (Hommel, *Chrestomathie*, § 57). Hommel, to be sure, concedes (§ 17 at the end) that the existence of a south Arabic demonstrative *hān* is not yet settled. Yet this existence results verisimilarly from the Minæo-Sabæan forms of the dual. To-wit, there are south Arabic forms of the dual which in Minæan inscriptions terminate in the consonants *nī-hn*, and in Sabæan inscriptions in the consonants *n-hn* (Hommel, § 66), and these forms are to be taken for the "Status Emphaticus or forms with the article." It cannot be denied that these forms, in whose terminations the consonant *h* (𐤇) is read, include the demonstrative *hān*. This opinion is commended especially

³² Hommel has commended this view in his *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, Vol. I (1893), p. 112, and in his *Südarabische Chrestomathie* (1893), § 57.

through the forms of the dual which end with the letters *hīn*, i. e., the syllables *haini* or *hain*.³²

For a long time I have investigated the question whether these south Arabic dual forms with *h* and the south Arabic nouns whose ending consists of a mere *n* (*ś*)³⁴ can be separated from each other. I think this separation is not possible, because the strange fact that the *h* of *hān* in dual forms is written and in other forms is wanting is not altogether inexplicable. Perhaps the *h* of *hān* is retained after the dual termination *-ānai*,³⁵ because near the *ān* of *ānai* the mere *ān* was disdained. At any rate, I cannot agree with G. Kampffmeyer,³⁶ who lately has proposed the thesis that this south Arabic ending *ān* is an old termination of the accusative. He thinks he can regard the words ending with *ān*, *īn*, or *ān* as a triad of old case-forms.

As to the nouns which terminate in *ān*, Kampffmeyer's thesis is the variation of a view already suggested by Hommel. Although this, as we have seen above, supposed another origin of the south Arabic termination (*a*)*n*, he conjectured that the post-fixed article met with in south Arabic left behind a remnant in north Arabic too. This remainder was sought by him in the diptotic character of the adjectives ending with *ānu*.³⁷ Yet do all nouns terminating in *ān* follow the diptotic declension? No, one knows that not even all the adjectives ending in *ān* are diptotic, but only those whose feminines have the termination *āy*.³⁸ Now, a quality belonging to a single *portion* of a class cannot be based on a peculiarity characteristic of the whole class. Barth, in a very instructive article upon the diptotic

³² Compare the form of the oblique cases, which is derived from the dual of the Arabic demonstrative *ذَيْنِ*, viz., *daini*.

³⁴ *ś* is written in the end of the masculine and the feminine singular and of the so-called broken plural (Hommel, *Chrestomathie*, § 57).

³⁵ This is the ending of the dual in Minean, whilst this ending seems to be a mere *-āni* in Sabean (Hommel, *Chrestomathie*, § 65).

³⁶ G. Kampffmeyer, in his paper on "Südarabisches," *ZDMG.*, 1900, pp. 621 sqq.

³⁷ Hommel, *Südarab. Chrestomathie*, § 57: "Der angehängte Artikel des Südarabischen hat im Nordarabischen noch eine Spur zurückgelassen in dem diptotischen Charakter der Adjectiva auf *أَنْ*."

³⁸ Cf. Caspari's *Arabische Grammatik*, 5. Aufl., bearbeitet von Aug. Müller, § 307, 2, d:

"Die Adjectiva derselben Form mit Fem. *ي* sind triptota, wie *تَدَمَانٌ* 'Tischgenosse.'" Adjectives of the type *fu'lān* follow throughout the triptotic declension.

flexion,"³⁹ has suggested that the diptotic character of the adjectives in question depends upon the form of the feminines corresponding to them. At all events, the nominal affixes *ānun* or *ānu*, in my judgment, are not to be separated from the series of the other syllables through whose annexion nouns are derived in Semitic languages. The affix *ānun*, therefore, cannot be isolated from the affix *iyyun*, etc.

Nor is it, I believe, possible to prove the thesis of Kampffmeyer, that an old case-termination (*ān*) has been received in the series of the nominal affixes. I can be the less ready to admit this opinion, since its author has not succeeded in offering any positive arguments which would require this new view. On the contrary, there are considerable difficulties dissuading us from this judgment. Moreover, is it not a presupposition purely hypothetical that the vowel of the endings of cases anywhere in Semitic was a long one? Furthermore, in Phœnician⁴⁰ and Hebrew we should have, then, a double group of remnants of the case-terminations, viz.: first, *ō*, *ī*, *ā* (see above, p. 219); and, secondly, the nominal affixes *ūn*, *īn*, *an*.⁴¹ Therefore, Kampffmeyer does not seem to me to have thrown a fresh light upon the south Arabic termination (*a*)*n*.

If, then, the Minæo-Sabæan (*a*)*n* is, with Hommel, to be reduced to the demonstrative syllable *hān*, it remains precarious to see in this south Arabic ending the prototype of the *ā* in which the Emphatic State in Aramaic terminates. Let us briefly consider the difficulties rising against this view. If we should recur to the syllable *hān*, its *spiritus asper* would lead to the same objections which are considered above (p. 217) as to the syllable *hā*. In Aramaic, again, we have the demonstrative *hān* with the sound *n*. And are there any positive traces of a peculiar relation between the south Arabic and the Aramaic branches of the Semitic languages? I have found, to be sure, such a trace.

³⁹ Barth in his paper on "Die diptotische Flexion," *ZDMG.*, 1892, pp. 684 sqq., 694 sq. A new hypothesis on the Arabic diptota is set forth by Reckendorf in his book, *Die syntactischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (1898), pp. 170 sqq. In his opinion the so-called Elative forms (أَفْعَلٌ) were the starting-point of the diptotic declension in Arabic.

⁴⁰ Stade, "Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phöniciſchen und dem Hebräiſchen bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades," in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, 1875, p. 192.

⁴¹ The Semitic nouns which possess these affixes are collected in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, pp. 39 sqq., 405, and the quantity of the affix *an* is discussed in detail in my little book, *Hebräisch und Semitisch*, etc. (1901), pp. 59-61.

We have in Minæo-Sabæan, as well as in Aramaic, the demonstrative 𐤀.⁴² But the *n* of this demonstrative is found in Phœnician, too,⁴³ and the word 𐤀 has in Aramaic also preserved its *n*. However, the termination of the Emphatic State in Aramaic would have lost the sound *n*; that is to say, that very element would have been neglected which is said to have indicated the determination of nouns.

Considering all these difficulties, I venture to raise the question whether the solution of the problem proposed above is not to be preferred.⁴⁴

⁴² In the Zengîrli inscriptions we read 𐤀 and 𐤀𐤀 (Lidsbarski, *Handbuch*, etc., p. 264).

⁴³ 𐤀 is written in the large inscription found at Byblos and reprinted in Lidsbarski's *Handbuch*, etc., p. 416, l. 4, etc.

⁴⁴ Finally I beg the pardon of the kind readers for some Germanisms found in this paper which I have composed myself in English.

SOME UNPUBLISHED RELIGIOUS TEXTS OF ŠAMAŠ

BY CLIFTON DAGGETT GRAY,
The University of Chicago.

Until within a comparatively short time the publication of Assyrian Religious Texts has been of a desultory character, few attempts having been made systematically to bring out complete series of texts. Among continental scholars three marked exceptions may be mentioned. To Tallqvist for his publication of *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, and to Zimmern for his publication of *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, as well as to Knudtzon for his *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, students of Assyrian and Babylonian religion are deeply indebted. Among English Assyriologists a similar debt is due to King for his careful editing of *The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand*, and to Thompson for *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*. Such work as these men have done has been greatly facilitated by the appearance, two years ago, of the fifth volume of the *Catalogue*, but there remains a vast amount of material yet to be brought to light. In his preface to *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, King well says: "Although so much has been done in recent years to explain their religious literature, no finality in the matter must be expected for some time to come, certainly not as long as any important religious text remains unpublished." For this reason, then, these religious texts relating to the worship of Šamaš have been published, in the hope that they may form a small contribution to the history of Babylonian religion, the writing of which, as Zimmern has remarked in the *Vorwort* of his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, is "today as yet a thing impossible."

The texts which are given in the following pages comprise all of the hitherto unpublished Šamaš Religious Texts, which are classified in the fifth volume of the *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* as "Incantations and prayers and hymns to the Sun-god" (p. 2053),

as "Hymns to Šamaš" (p. 2044), and as "Prayers to Šamaš" (p. 2153). For two reasons it was not thought best to include those texts which have already been published. In the first place, with two or three exceptions they are all given in the second edition of Vol. IV of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, which means that very few corrections to these plates could be found. Secondly, the present piece of work is only preliminary to a more extended discussion of the Šamaš Religious Literature, which will include a transliteration and translation of all the Šamaš texts, together with exegetical notes and glossary, and an introduction. In the case of one text already published, K. 3182, so many fragments have been added to it as to make it almost a new text. For this reason, and also the fact that it is one copy of a very important hymn, it has been included. In the case of K. 4872, the numerous duplicates of this valuable incantation text have been published, thus making possible the restoration of a large portion of the tablet, although the incantation to Šamaš occupies only the first column and half of the second.

The greater number of the tablets are in the Assyrian character, and are quite easily read where not mutilated. In one or two tablets, as for example in K. 3286, some of the characters approach the Babylonian. Seven tablets, K. 2132, K. 2296, K. 2883, K. 4795, K. 5982, K. 10527, and Bu. 91-5-9, 132, are written in the Babylonian.

As for the language, it is for the most part Assyrian. The following texts are bi-lingual: K. 2605, K. 4872 and duplicates, K. 5982 and duplicate, K. 11789 duplicate of K. 4803, S. 690, Rm. 129 duplicate of K. 3343, Bu. 91-5-9, 180 duplicate of K. 256. Two of the texts, K. 3462 and K. 4795, are Sumerian.

With regard to the classification given in the *Catalogue*, it must frequently be considered as merely tentative. For instance, K. 11768 is classified as a hymn, and K. 9830 as an incantation and prayer, but they have both been joined. In many cases, owing to the smallness of the fragment or to the indefiniteness of the contents, it was impossible to give it a more definite classification than that of a "religious text." Again, in the case of many tablets, the classification into incantations, prayers, and hymns is a purely arbitrary one, the dividing line between such religious texts being very vague. A single text will often partake of the character of both a hymn or prayer and an incantation, or

even of all three of these. There is only one pure hymn among the Šamaš Religious Texts.

Three tablets, K. 5900, K. 12000, and Rm. 601, are quite different in the phraseology of the first line from any other Šamaš religious text. They all begin: ^{il}u Šamaš bēl di-nim. Comparing this with the first line of the prayers to Rammān (Adad) and Šamaš, it is probable that these tablets should be classified under the latter head. In the first line of Rm. 601 enough of the name of the god Rammān (Adad) appears to make this quite certain as far as this tablet is concerned. In a few tablets, K. 3204, K. 3214, K. 3928, K. 3286, and K. 3394, so much of ritual appears that it would seem better to put them under some other classification, such as "Prayers and Directions for Ceremonies."

The following joins were made: (1) K. 4654 + Rm. 2, 213; (2) K. 4922 + K. 11953; (3) K. 9830 + K. 11768; (4) S. 690 + S. 2070. From a careful comparison of the following duplicates of K. 4872 it is probable that they are fragments of the same tablet, K. 4922 + K. 11953 and K. 5069 being on the obverse, and K. 5248 and K. 8934 on the reverse. For the same reasons K. 3214 and K. 3928 are evidently portions of the same tablet. K. 13256 is possibly a fragment of the same tablet as K. 8457. K. 10527 is a duplicate of K. 5982, a fact which is not noted in the *Catalogue*.

In a number of places which are marked in the text as *scratched* it was almost impossible to ascertain the true reading, owing to the careless cleaning of the tablets by former readers, a practice which was by no means confined to this class of literature, as will be seen by reading the closing paragraph of Thompson's review of Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, in *AJSL.*, April, 1901, p. 167.

The Šamaš Religious Texts which have already been published are as follows: K. 256 in IV R., 2d ed., plate 17; K. 2860 in IV R., 2d ed., plate 19, No. 2; K. 3343 in IV R., 2d ed., plate 20, No. 2; K. 4803 in IV R., 2d ed., plate 28, No. 1; K. 4872 in V R., plates 50 and 51; 33328 in Abel and Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 59, 60.

For convenience, a list of duplicates in the following texts is added: of K. 256: Bu. 91-5-9, 180; of K. 3182: S. 1033, 83-1-18, 472; of K. 3343: Rm. 129; of K. 4803: K. 11789; of K. 4872: K. 3138, K. 3462, K. 4610, K. 4654 + Rm. 2, 213,

K. 4830, K. 4922+K. 11953, K. 4986, K. 5069, K. 5135, K. 5248, K. 8934, S. 166, S. 728; of K. 5982: K. 10527; of S. 787: K. 8457+K. 8926.

I wish to thank Dr. Weissbach, of Leipzig, for his kindness in pointing out to me three duplicates of K. 4872, viz., K. 3138, K. 3462, and K. 4654, and another Šamaš text, K. 2380, none of which are noted in the *Catalogue*.

I am also under obligations to Dr. E. Wallis Budge, the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, and to Mr. Leonard W. King and Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, assistants in the Department, for their courtesy and for the great assistance which they afforded me during my stay in London.

I am especially indebted to my instructor, Professor Robert Francis Harper, for valuable suggestions and help in my study of these texts. For the results as presented, however, I alone am responsible.

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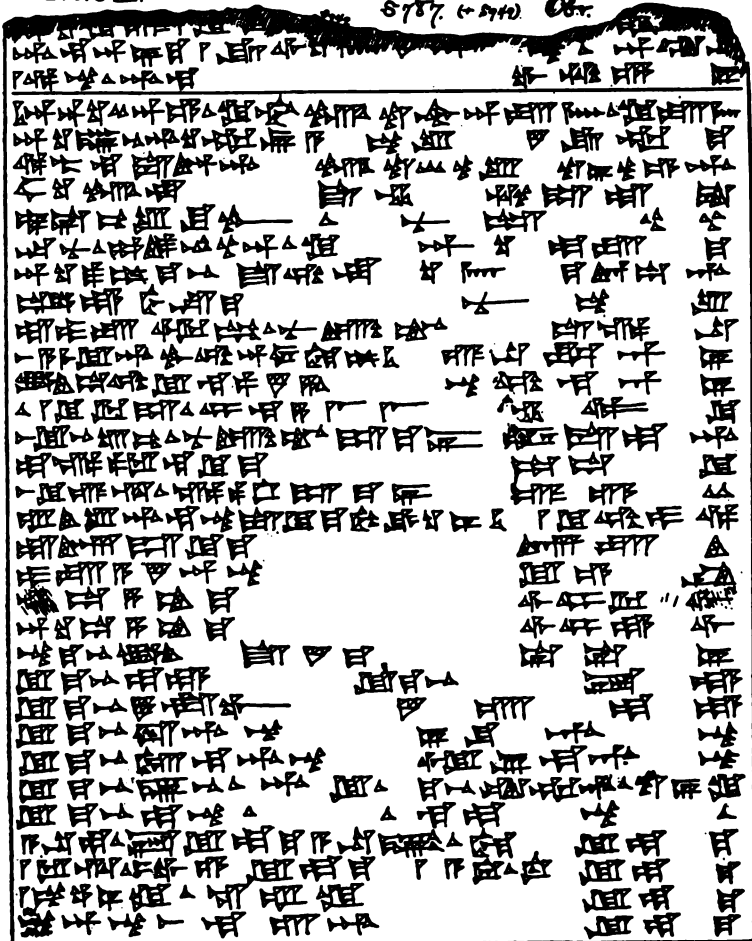
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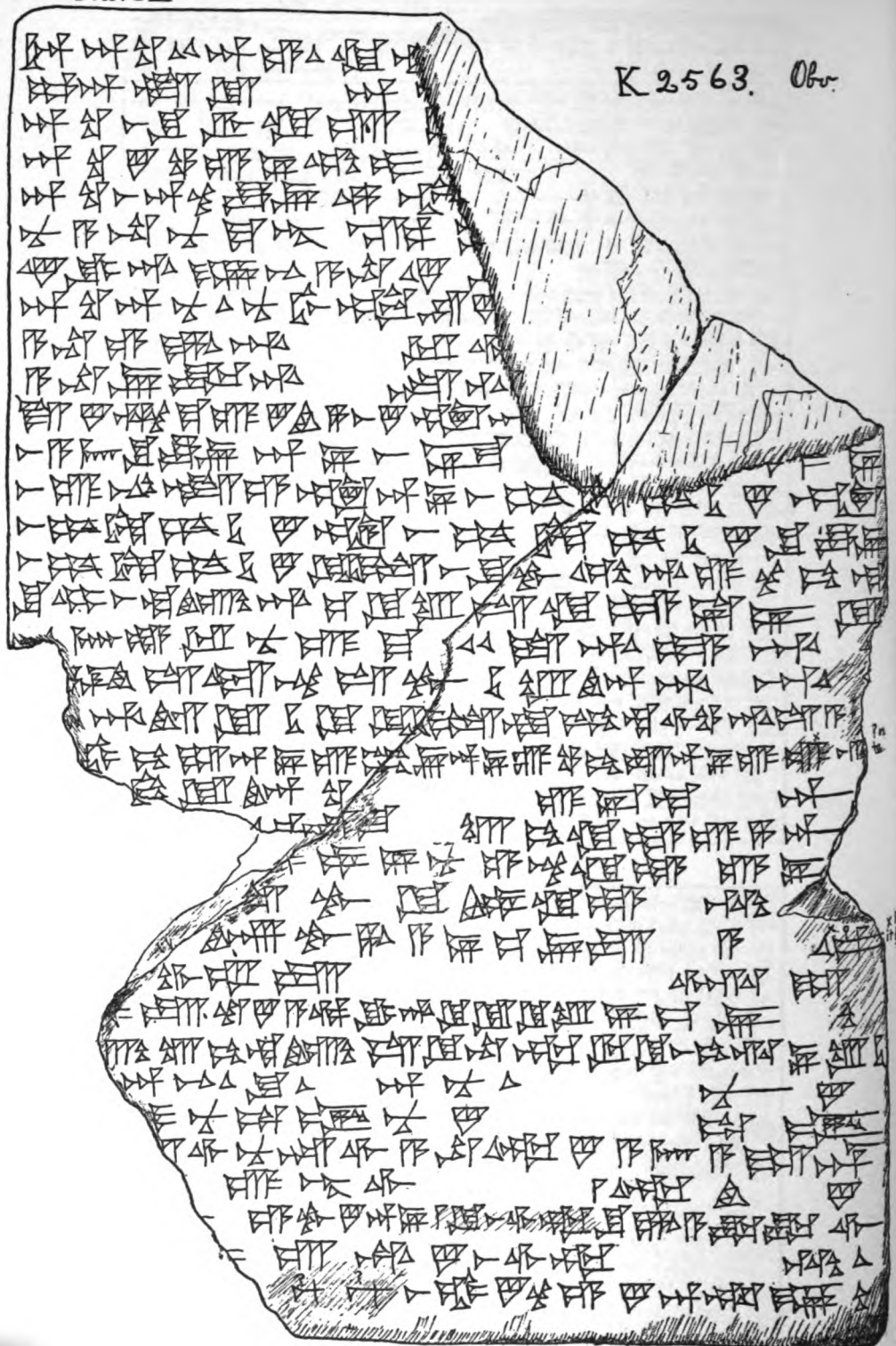
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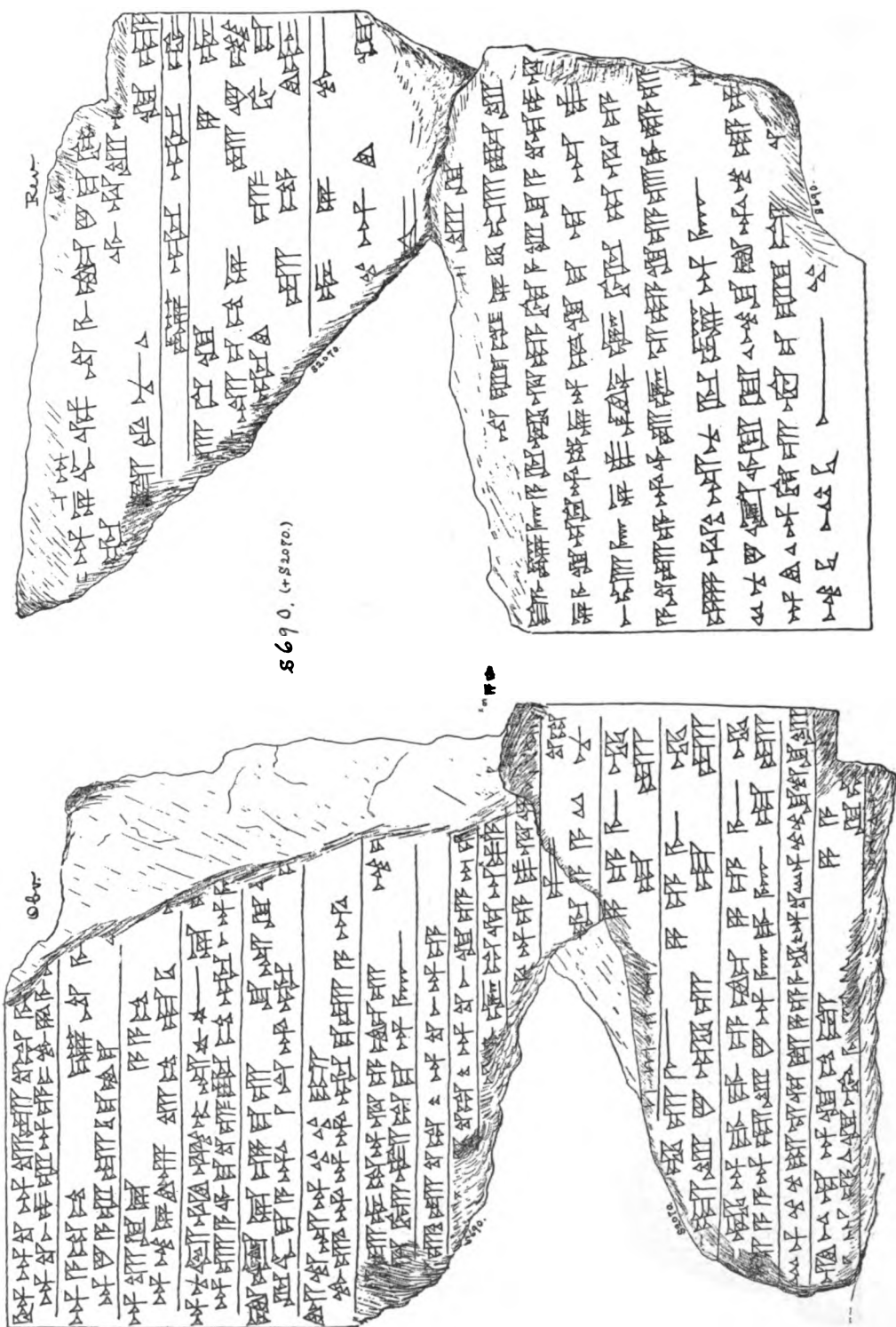
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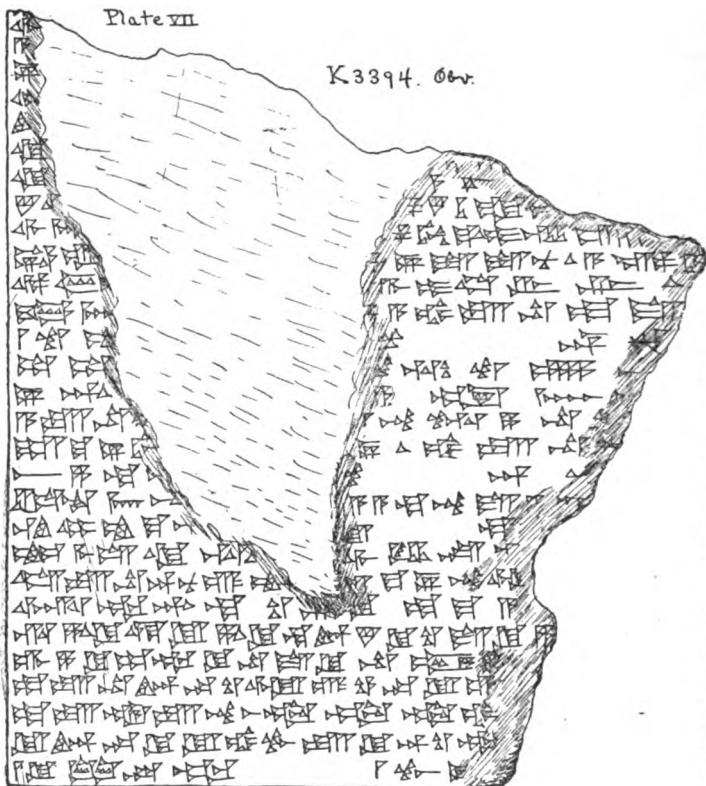
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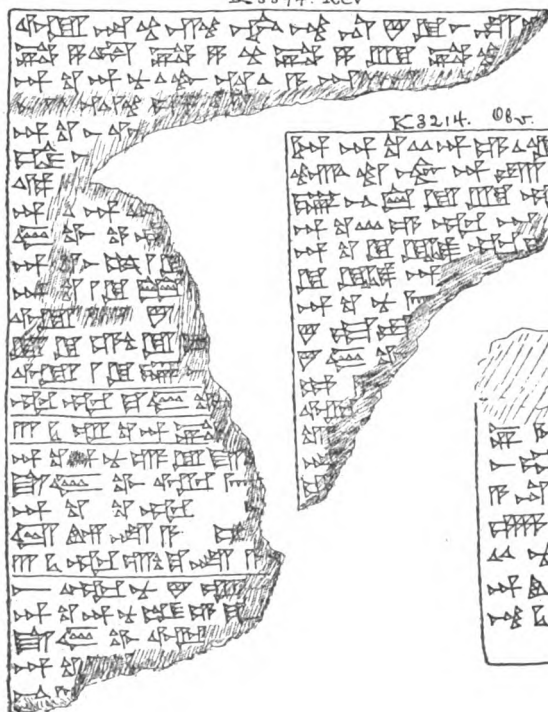


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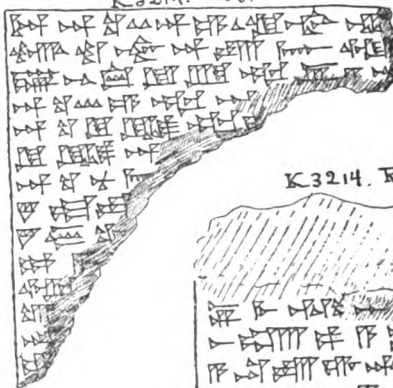
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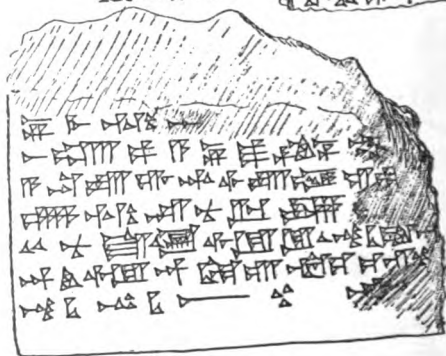
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K 3214. Obv.



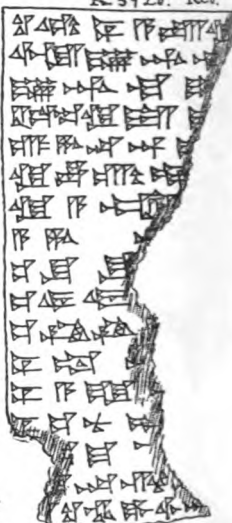
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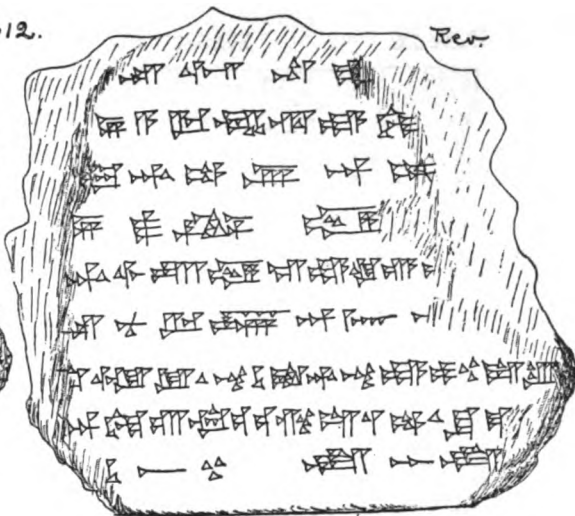
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Obv.



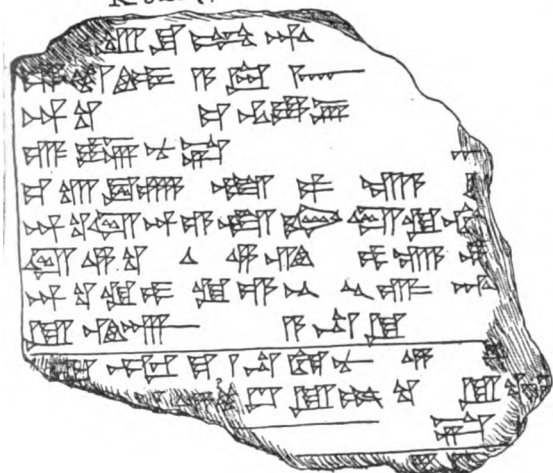
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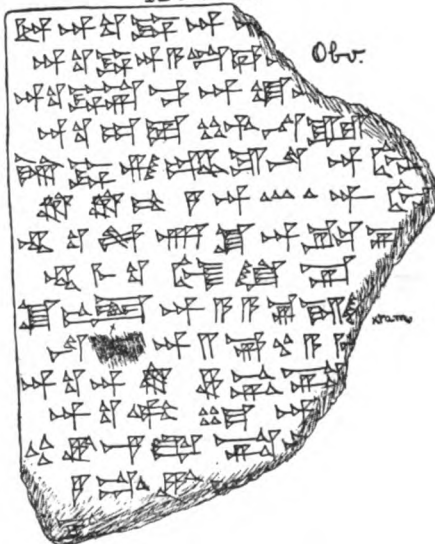
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K 3204.

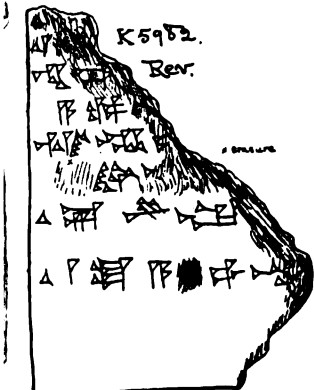


K 5982.

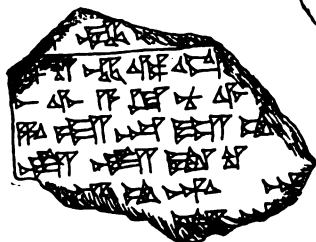


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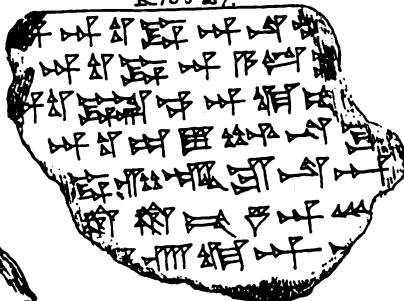
Rev.

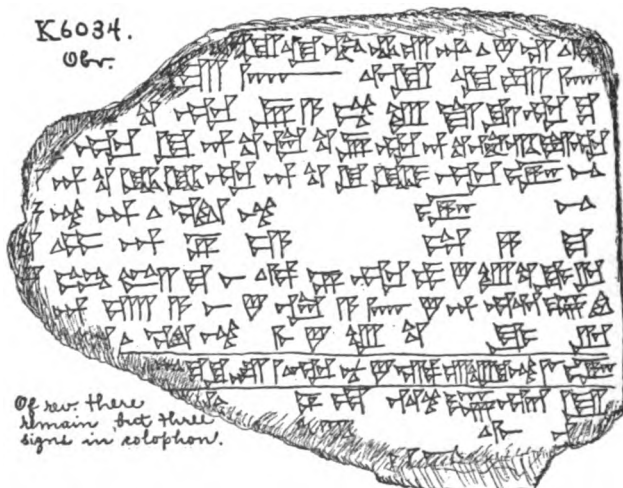
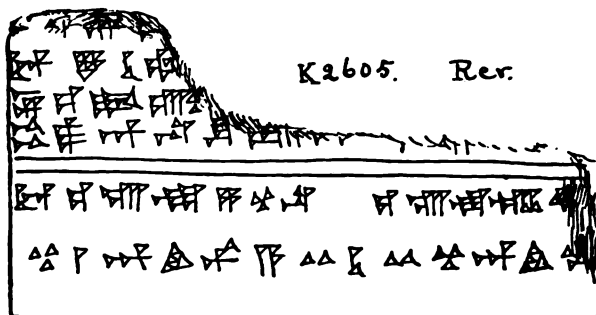
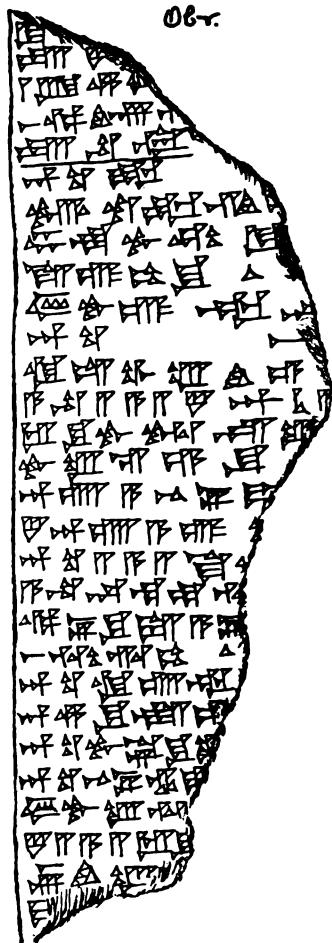
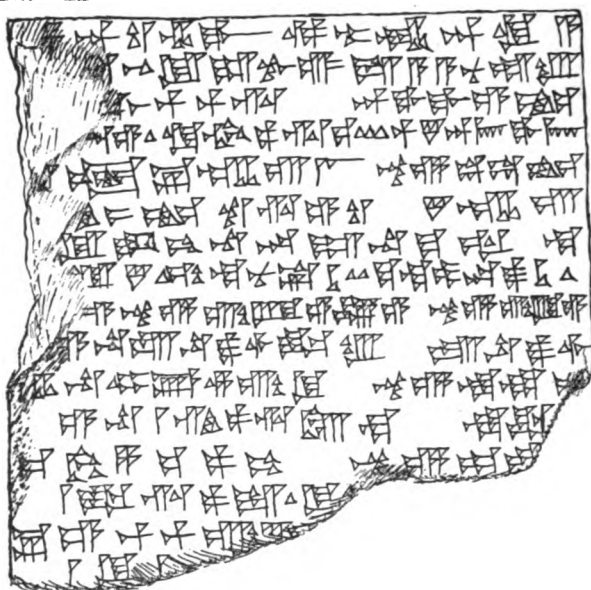


K 5900.



K 10527

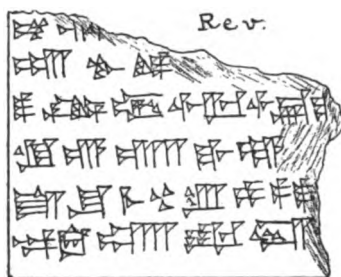
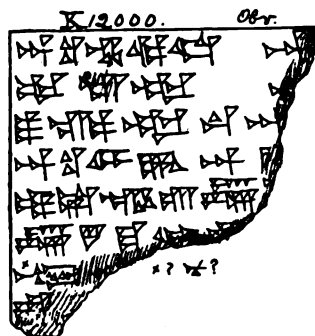
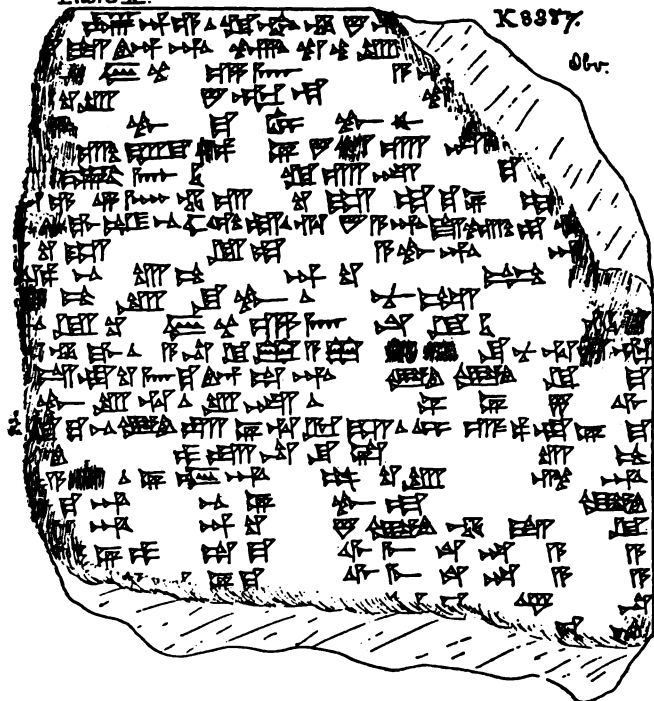




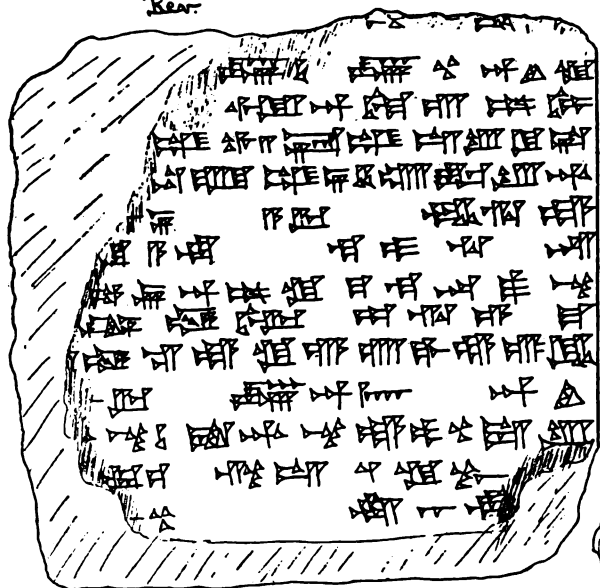
Of rev. there
remain but three
signs in colophon.



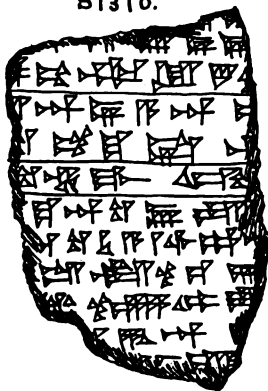
Plate X.



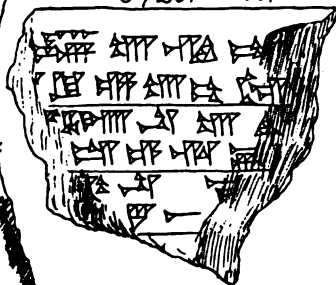
Rev.



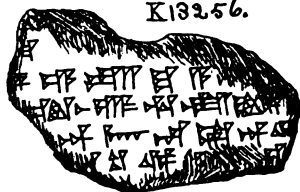
S 1310.



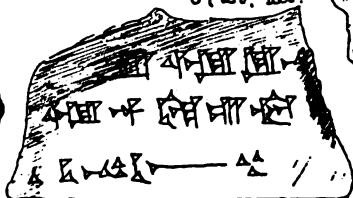
5728. Obv.

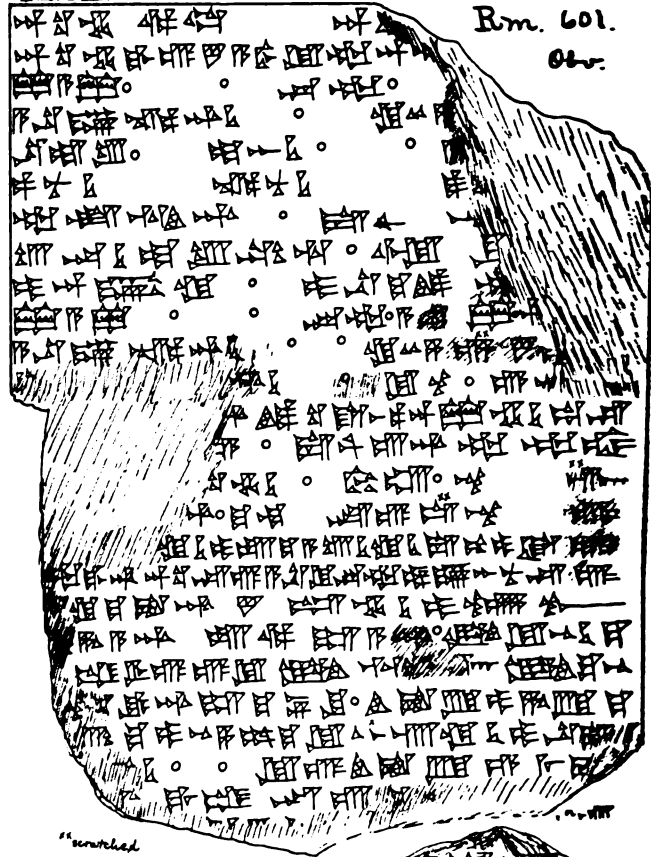


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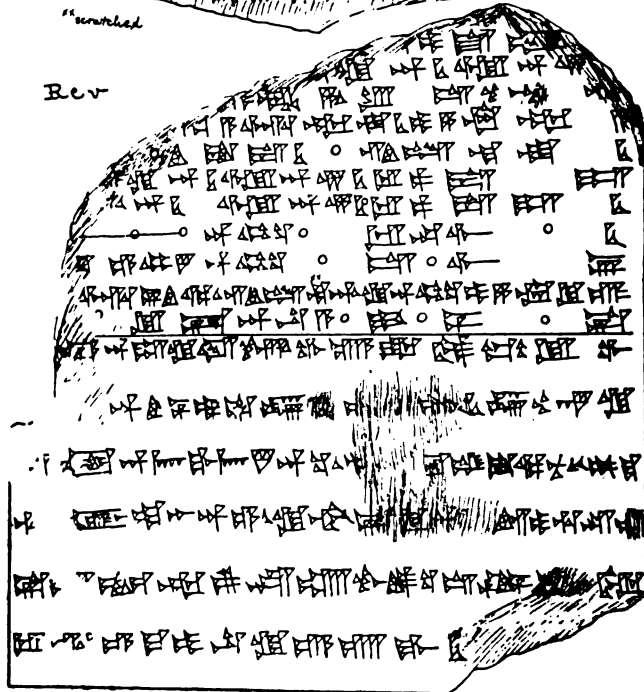


5727. Rev.





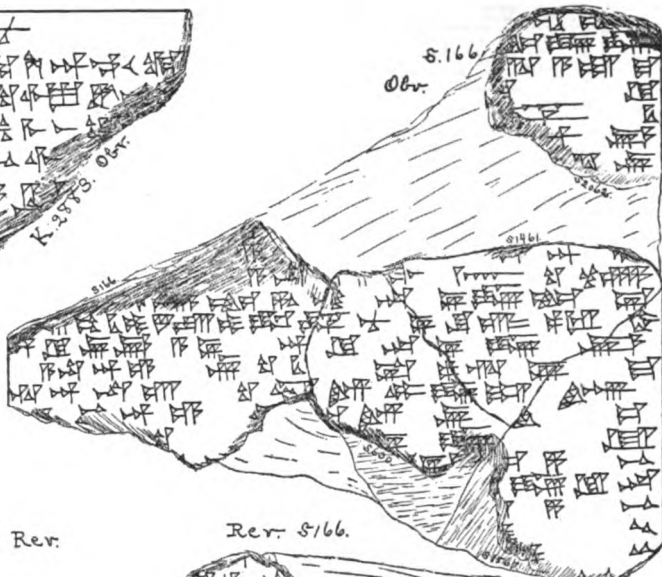
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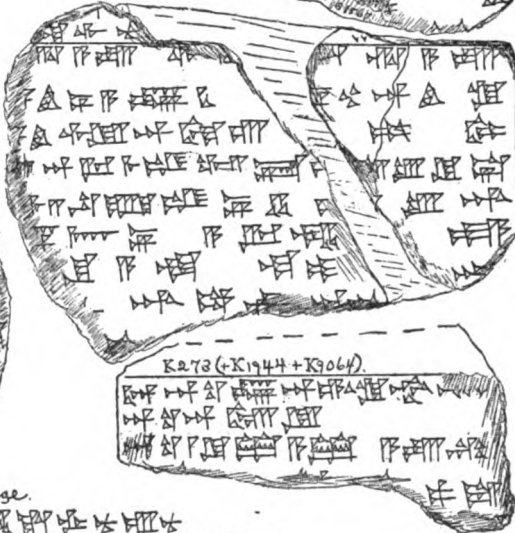
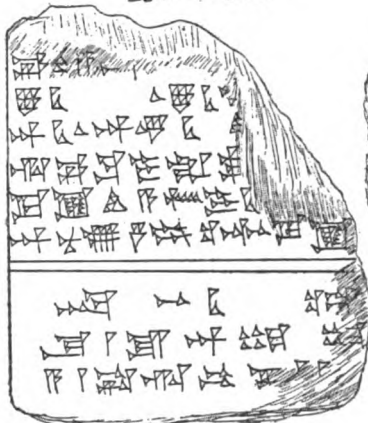
K. 2132. Obv.

S. 166. Obv.



K. 2132 Rev.

Rev. S. 166.



K. 2132 (+K. 1942 + K. 2064)

K. 2132

K. 2132 Edge.

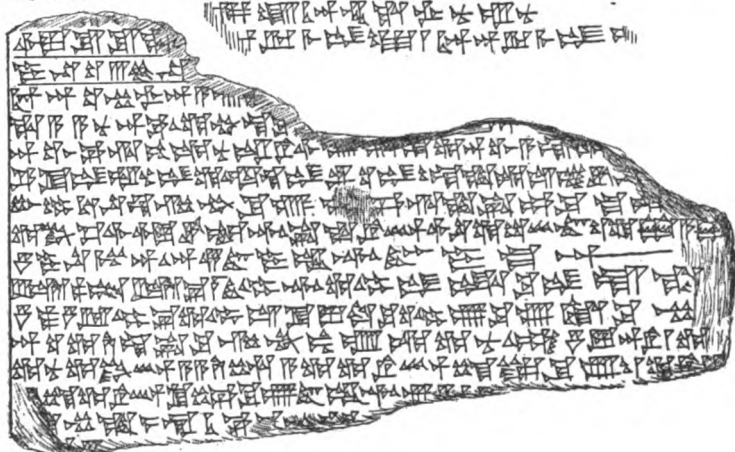


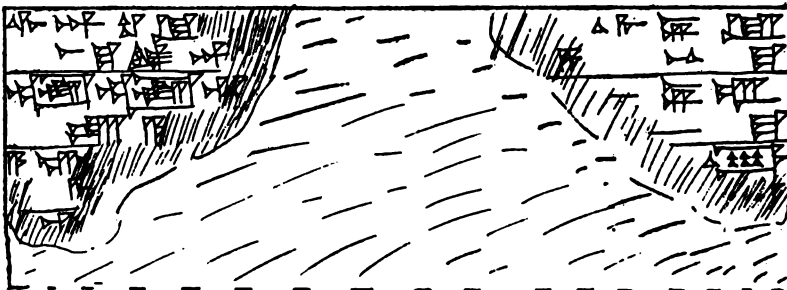
Plate XIV.

K4830.

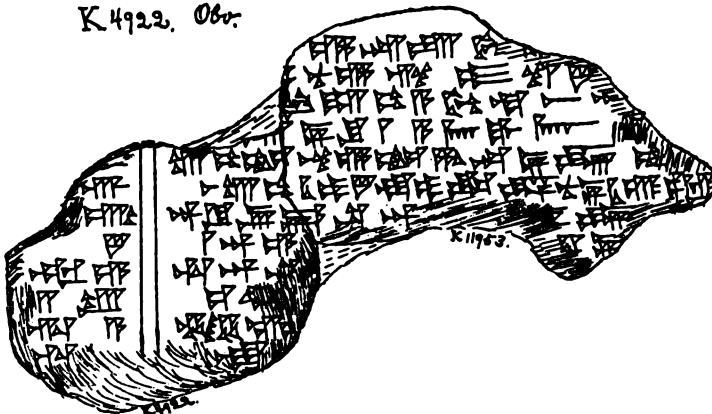
Obv.



Rev.



K4922. Obv.





K 4654.

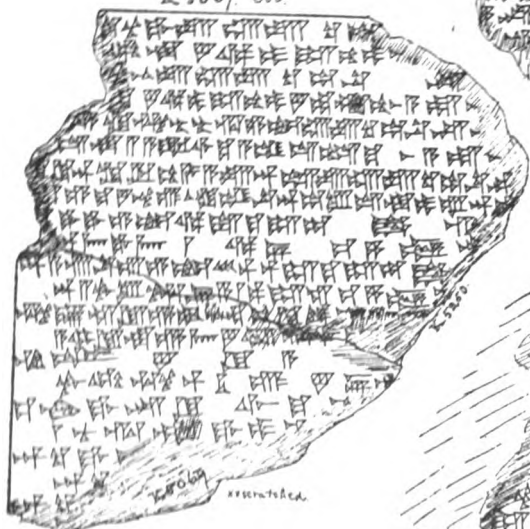


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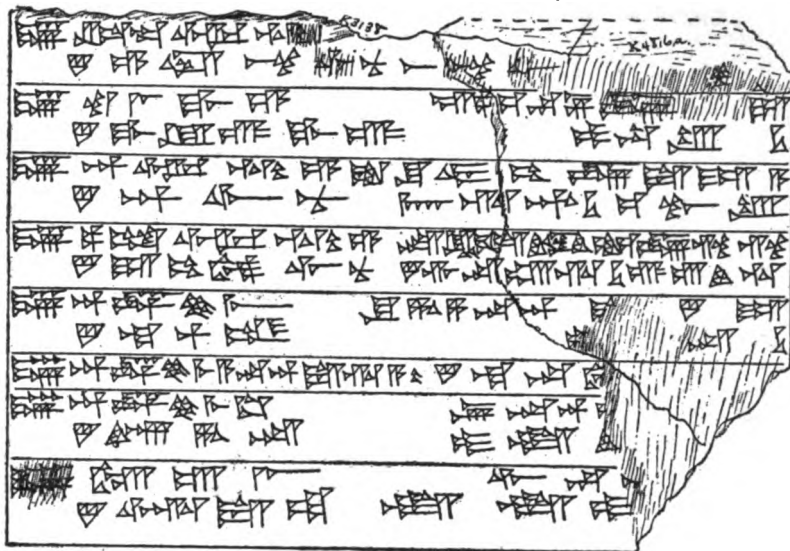
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K 5069 Obv.

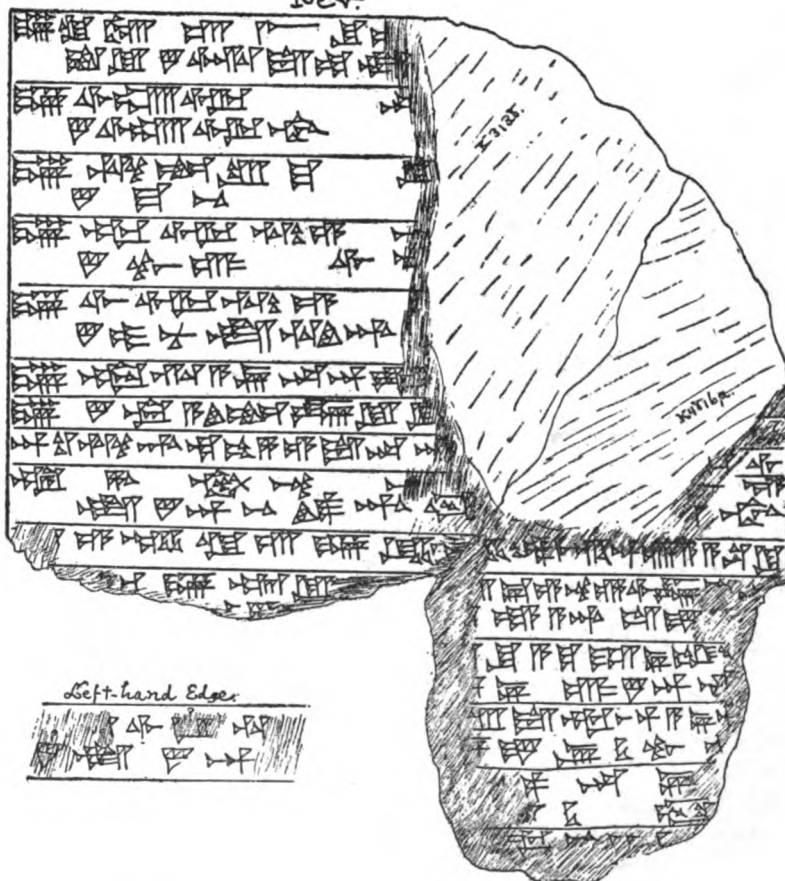


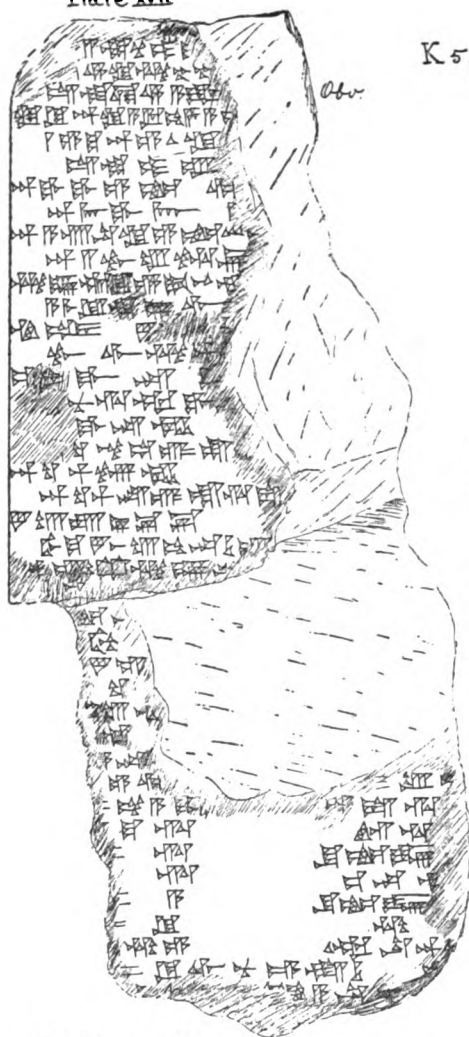
K 3462 Obv.





Rev.

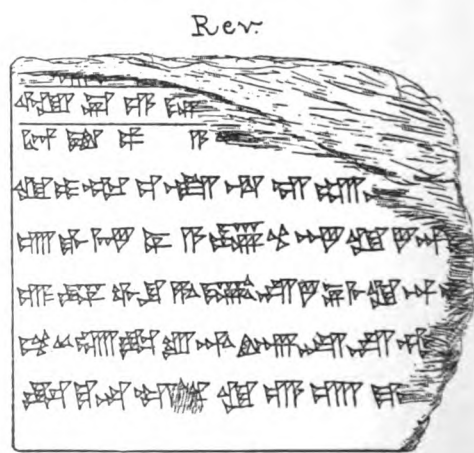


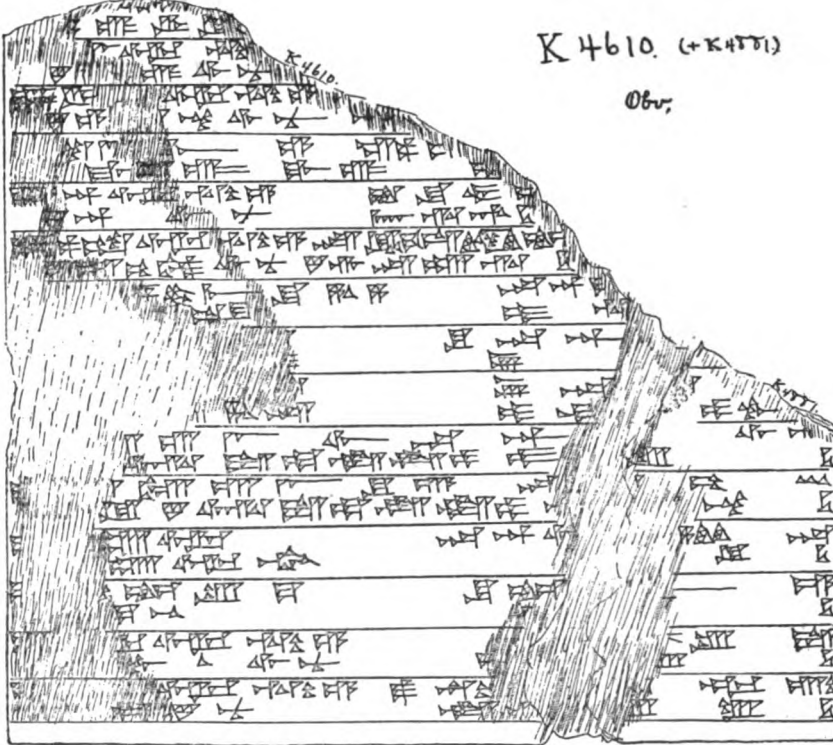


K 5/35.

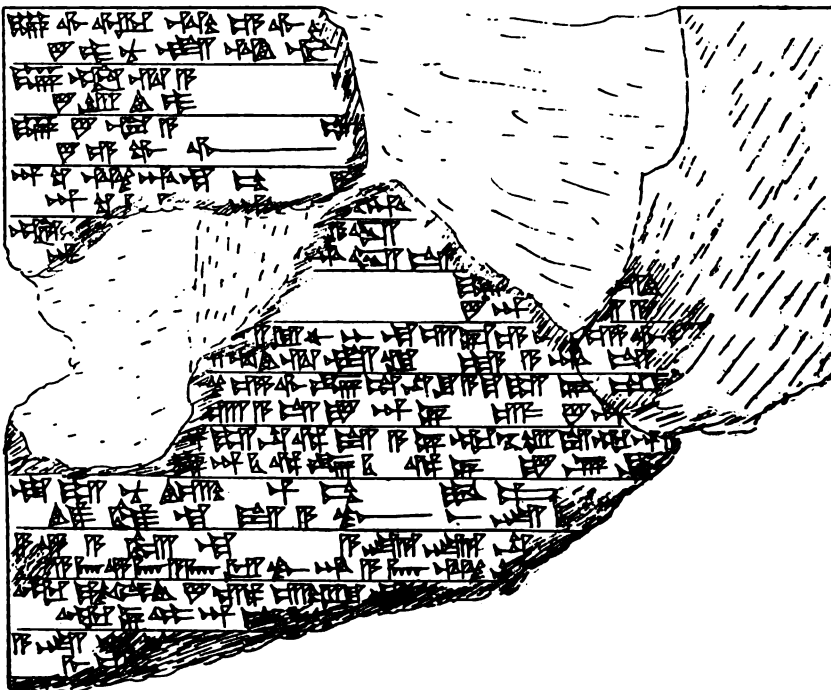


K 4986.

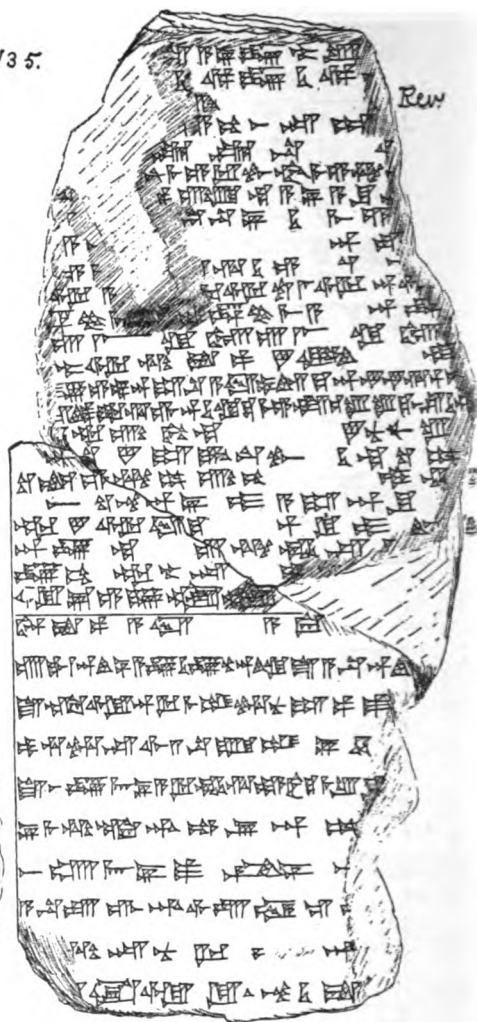
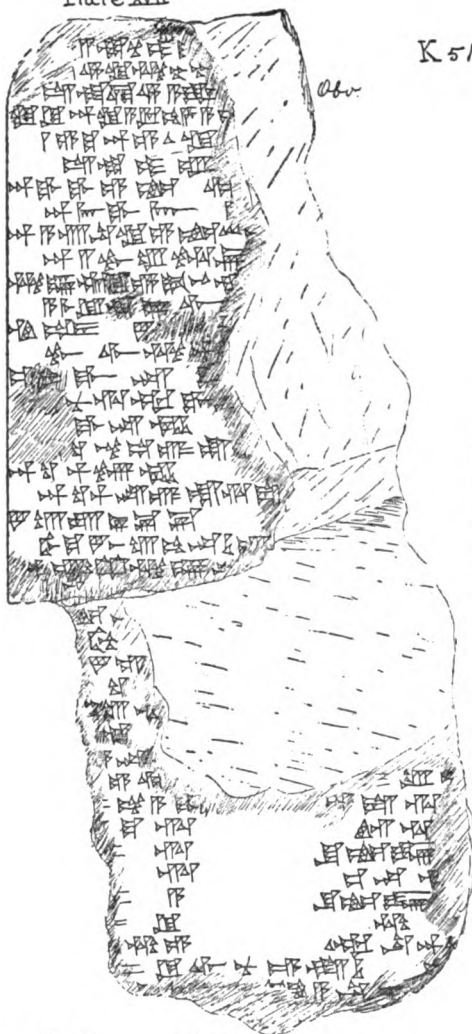




Rev.



K 5/35.

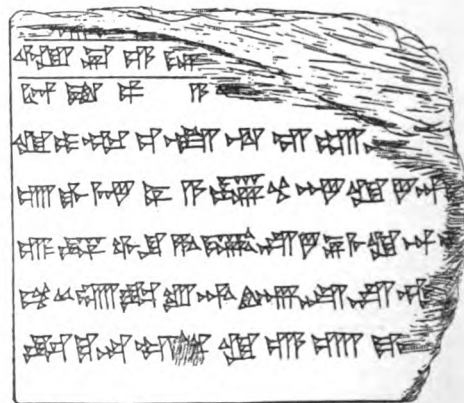


K4986.

Obv.

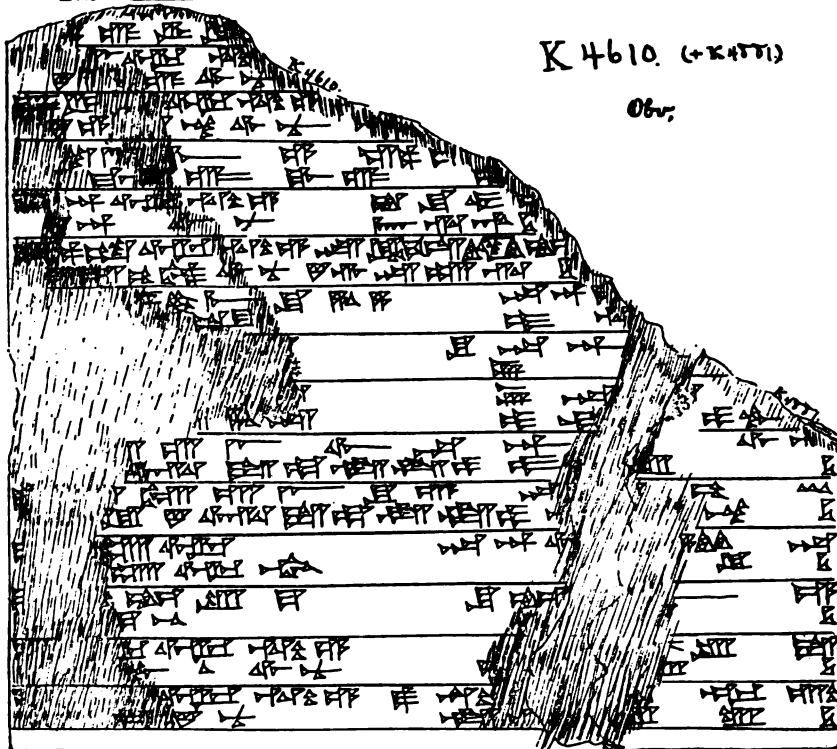


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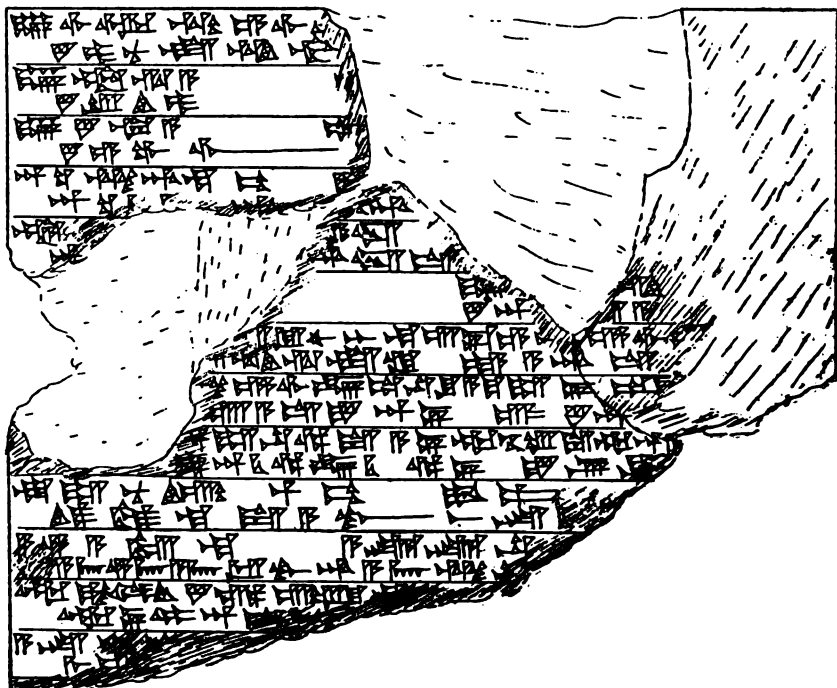


K 4610. (K 4571)

Obv.



Rev.





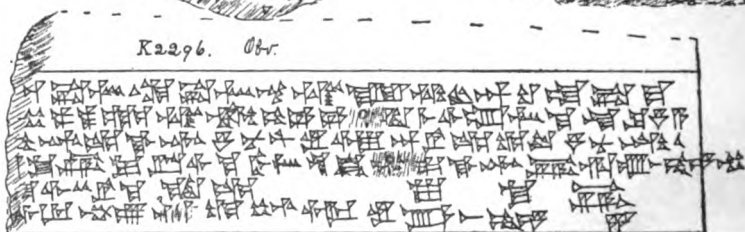
Y3-1-17 473. Obv.



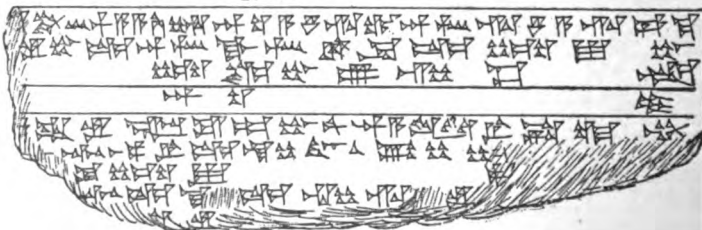
Rev.



K2296. Obv.



Rev.



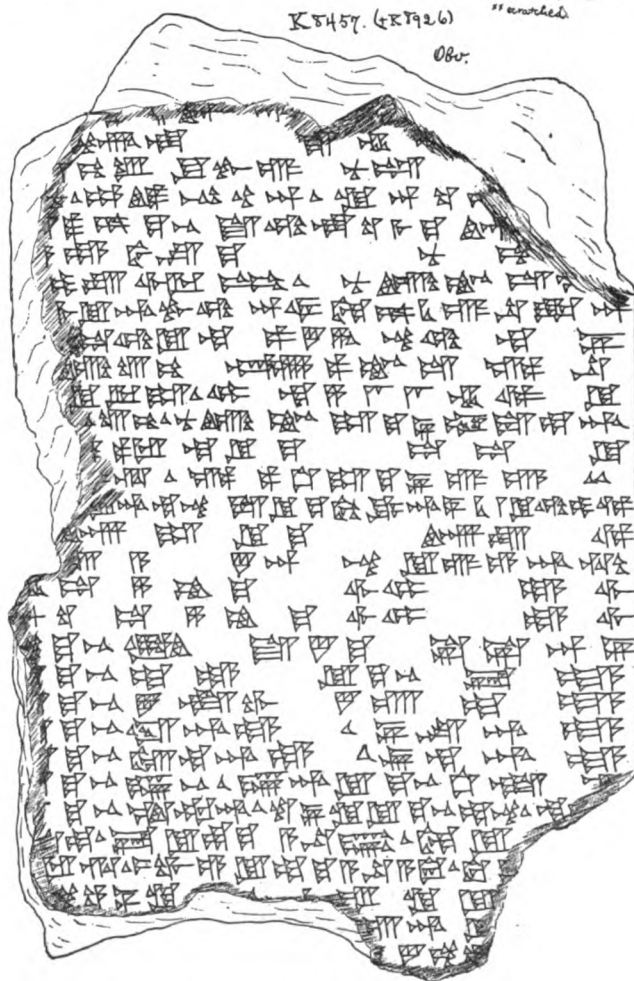


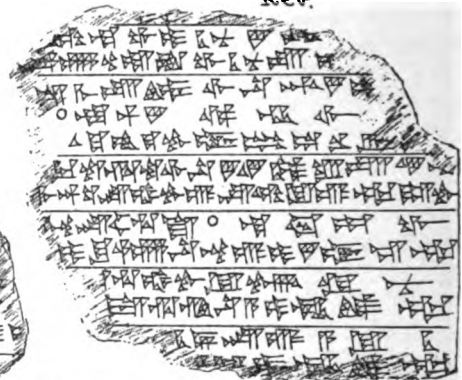
Plate XII.



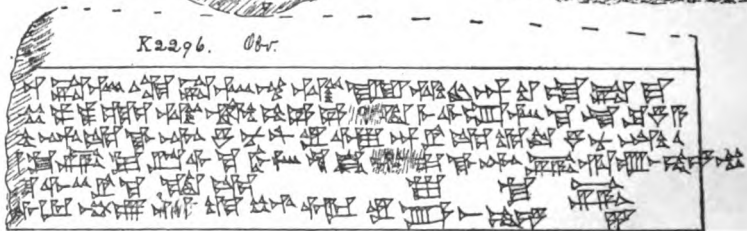
73-1-17, 473. Obv.



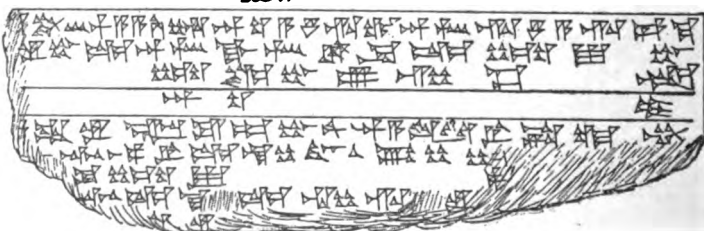
Rev.



K 2296. Obv.



Rev.





Bu. 91-5-9. 132. Obv.



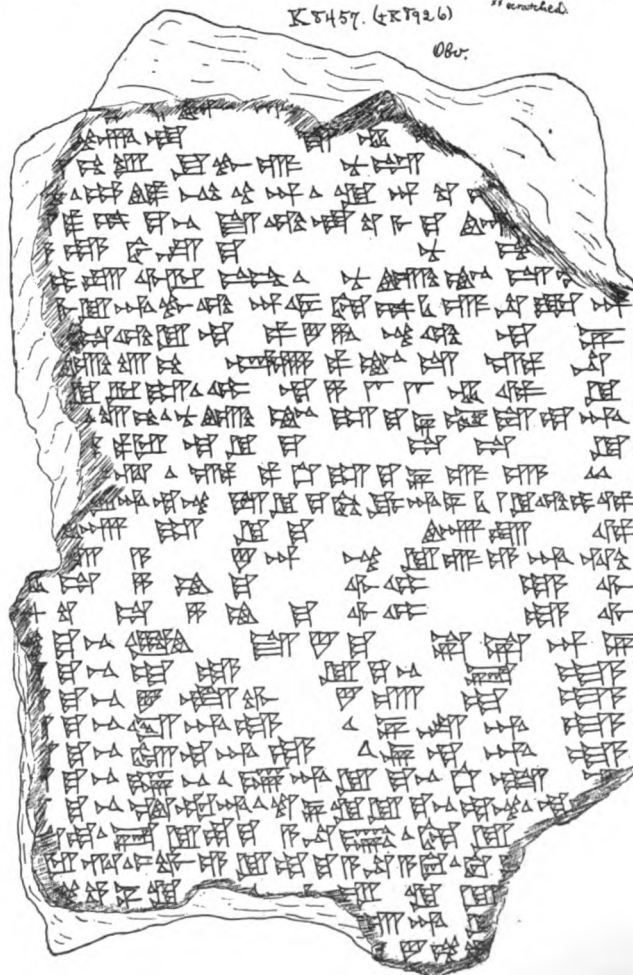
Rev.

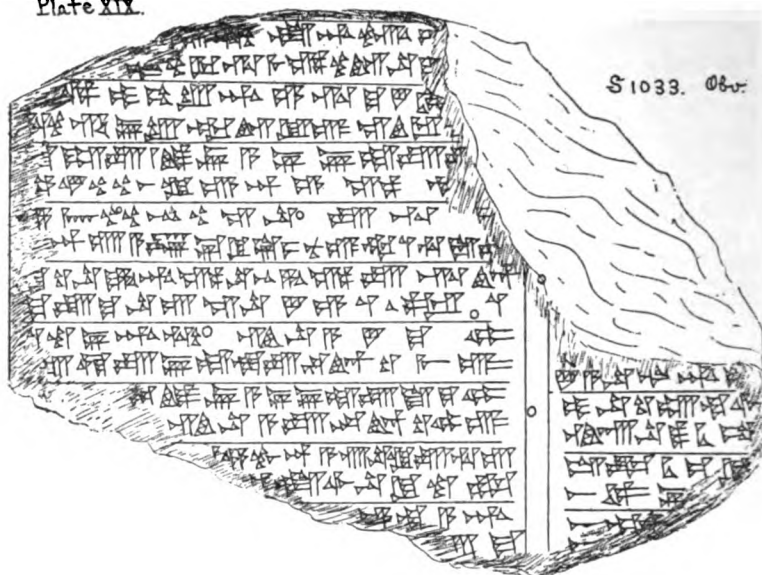


K5457. (K7926)

marked.

Obv.

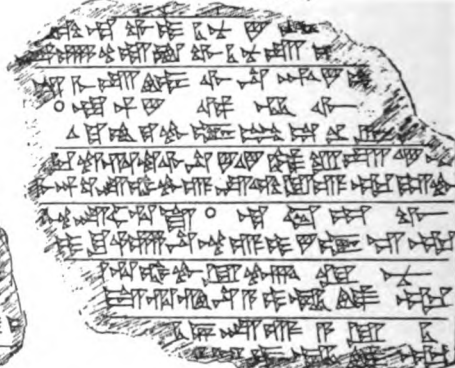




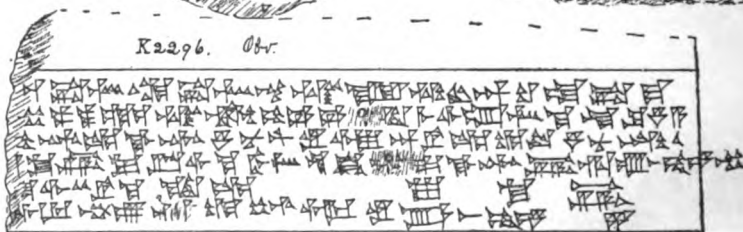
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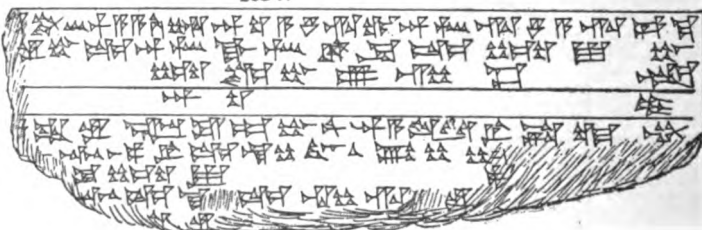
Rev.



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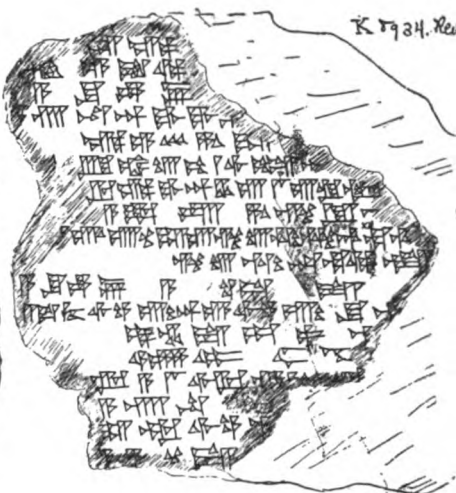
Rev.



K5245. Rev.

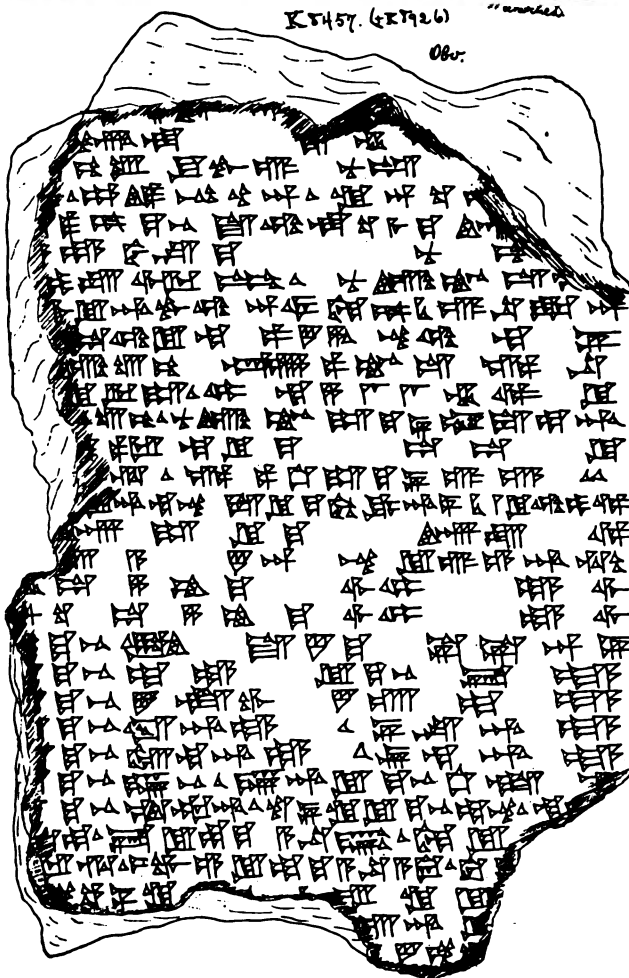


K7934. Rev.



K5757. (K7926)

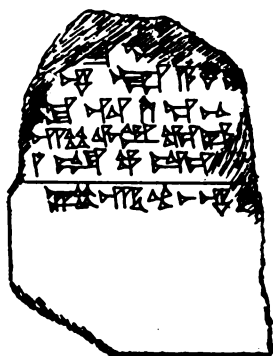
Obv.



Bu.91-5-9.132. Obv.



Rev.



ON A NOT UNCOMMON RENDERING OF THE WORD ÍKALLU.

By C. BOUTFLOWER,
Terling, Witham, Essex, England.

At the close of the Tablet Inscription from Nimrud¹ Tiglath-pileser III. gives a very full account of the palace built by him at that place, how it stood on a loftier mound than the palaces of his predecessors, and was built on a grander scale than "the palaces of all lands." In l. 83 the description continues as follows: Ana šubat šarrûtia admanša ašši, nisikti abni šipir arma kiribša. Íkallât ħidati, naša ħigalli, kārība šarri, mulabbiru ipišišin, ana šumīšin abbi, "For the dwelling-place of my royalty I raised its abode, precious stones the work of I placed within it. The íkallât I called their names, Pleasures, Holding abundance, King's graciousness, Making their builder grow old." Now, as the previous context, l. 83, mentions only one abode, it seems probable that we ought to render íkallât by "halls" rather than "palaces," and that the king is speaking of four halls of state, which formed portions of one and the same palace.

This rendering of the word íkallu is confirmed by the Standard Inscription of Assurnatsirpal.² Speaking of his buildings, also at Nimrud, this monarch says: Íkal (iṣu) irini, íkal (iṣu) šurmini, íkal (iṣu) daprani, íkal (iṣu) urkarini, íkal (iṣu) miskanni, íkal (iṣu) buṭni u (iṣu) tarpi' ana šubat šarrûtia ana multa'it bīlūtia ša darāti ina libbi addi; a passage on which Professor D. G. Lyon, in his useful *Assyrian Manual*, p. 67, remarks: "The repetition of this word (íkal) is peculiar, for there seems to have been but one palace built." True; but the difficulty is at once removed, if we suppose the king to be speaking of different halls and reception rooms of the same palace, "the hall of cedar," "the hall of cypress," etc. A parallel passage to the one just given is to be

¹ *Western Asia Inscriptions*, II, 67.

² *Layard's Cuneiform Inscriptions*, plate 1.

found in the so-called Hunting Inscription,³ in which Assurnatsirpal, describing the "new palace" built by him at the old capital of Assur, speaks in the same way of its four "halls": íkal (iṣu) írini, íkal (iṣu) urkarinu, íkal (iṣu) buṭni, íkal (iṣu) tarpi'.

The above passages from the inscriptions of Assurnatsirpal are very useful in helping us to understand Sargon's description of his palace at Khorsabad, the remains of which form the most perfect specimen that we possess of an Assyrian royal residence. In the Cylinder Inscription,⁴ l. 49, Sargon tells us how, induced by Ea with a wisdom beyond that of his royal predecessors, he had "planned day and night to erect sanctuaries as a dwelling-place for the great gods, and halls (íkallāti) the residence of my royalty." Then in l. 63 the description of these "halls" is carried on as follows: íkal šin píri, (iṣu) ušu (iṣu) urkarinu (iṣu) musukkanni (iṣu) írini (iṣu) šurmíni (iṣu) daprani u (iṣu) buṭni. Here, guided by the passages from Assurnatsirpal, we must supply íkal before each of the descriptions, and understand the king to be speaking of eight halls of state in his new palace, "the ivory hall," "the ušu hall," etc. In the Great Triumphal Inscription of Sargon, ll. 158, 159, there is a similar description of these eight "halls," and in l. 166 the king expressly calls them íkallāti, and tells how he adorned them with bas-reliefs depicting his conquests. The passage, which, as we shall see presently, is of some importance in determining the sense in which íkallu is used, runs thus: dadmí matitan ša ultu ḡitan adi šillan ina imuḡ Ašur bília akšudduma ina šipir (amílu) UR-RA-ku-ti ina kirib íkallāti šatina aštakkana simāti, "The people of all lands, which from the rising to the going down of the sun by the might of Asur my lord I had conquered, by the craft of the sculptor in those halls I placed as adornments."

Turning now from the inscriptions to the pages of Perrot and Chipiez,⁵ we meet with a perfect illustration of the truthfulness of the above description and at the same time a strong confirmation of our rendering of the word íkallu. In Vol. II, p. 426, a fairly perfect ground plan is given of the palace at Khorsabad. On this plan will be seen a square court marked J. This

³ W. A. I., I, 28, col. ii, ll. 14, 15.

⁴ W. A. I., I, 36.

⁵ Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*.

court is described in the letterpress as forming the center of the seraglio, or palace properly so called, as distinguished both from the harem, the apartments for the women and children, and from the khan, the offices and servants' quarters. On its northeast side this court *J* is shut off from a smaller court, *I*, by a long gallery measuring 45 meters by 5.80, apparently the longest room in the palace. On the remaining three sides of the court *J* are seven other principal apartments, described as being all about the same size, viz., 32 meters by 8, and as being characterized by the same lavishness of decoration, to-wit, sculptured thresholds, gateways flanked with colossi, and walls covered with bas-reliefs, so much so that M. Place designates the whole of this part of the palace as "la partie sculpturale."⁶ Now, as a visitor, coming into the palace by the state entrance, would have to cross the court *I* and traverse a part of the long gallery in order to reach the central court *J*, we may hazard the speculation that this gallery represents the *īkal šin pīri*, which stands first on Sargon's list, and then the seven other large apartments would represent the *īkal (īṣu) uṣu*, the *īkal (īṣu) urkarinu*, etc., both the number of the apartments and the richness of their mural decorations agreeing exactly with Sargon's own description as given above.⁷

With regard to the eight halls, it is a curious fact that a building adjoining the northern angle of the palace, not in direct communication with the seraglio, but entered from the same court of honor in which stands the state entrance into the seraglio, also contains eight large apartments. This building M. Place believes was intended for Sennacherib, the heir-apparent who had come to man's estate at the time when his father built the palace at Khorsabad.⁸

The names which Sargon gives to his palace halls, *uṣu*, *urkarinu*, etc., are perhaps best understood of the wood employed in the decoration of the ceiling and upper parts. For though the enormously massive walls were faced with stone slabs below and covered with plaster above, yet it is highly probable that on their broad tops, between wall and ceiling, there was a low covered walk guarded by wooden balustrades and with pillars of

⁶ Perrot et Chipiez, Vol. II, pp. 430-33.

⁷ In Place's *Ninive*, plates 3 and 4, the long gallery is marked 27, and the other seven halls are numbered 19, 20, 25, 26, 33, 37, 34, the last being rather smaller than the rest.

⁸ Perrot et Chipiez, Vol. II, p. 434.

wood or brick supporting the ceiling.⁹ This part of the building, through which came the light and air, would admit of very effective decoration, as well as the ceiling itself, on which a strong horizontal light would be thrown through these openings. The ceiling, being thus the best-lit part of the room, could not fail to strike the eye of the beholder. Hence nothing would be more natural than to name each apartment after the wood employed in its highly decorated ceiling. In the case of the íkal šin píri we must suppose that the decorations were effected by thin layers of ivory, either inlaid or used as a veneer. The name itself is interesting because of the הִיכָלִי שֵׁן of Psalm 45:9 (8). See also 1 Kings 22:39; Amos 3:15, and Cant. 7:4.

To return, however, to our main issue: by far the strongest argument for giving to íkallu in certain passages the sense of "hall" comes to us from the Old Testament, where the Hebrew הִיכָל is certainly used in this sense. Thus in the account of Solomon's temple, as given in 1 Kings, chaps. 6 and 7, a passage in which we should expect architectural terms to be used with some exactness, it will be found that the temple itself is invariably styled הַבַּיִת "the house," agreeably to the corresponding use of the Assyrian bitu, whilst הִיכָל is the term employed throughout to denote the larger chamber, the holy place, as distinguished from דְּבִיר the oracle or holy of holies, and אֹיָלָם the porch. Compare Gesenius, *Thesaurus, in loco*, "הִיכָל sensu arctiori, ædis Hierosolymitanæ pars major et occidentalis inter adytum דְּבִיר et vestibulum אֹיָלָם;" and, again, on Dan. 5:3, "הִיכָלָא arctiori sensu ponitur quam domus Dei." So then in 1 Kings 6:3 instead of "the temple of the house" it would be better to render "the hall of the temple." And, indeed, had our revisers seen their way to translate הִיכָל throughout that passage by "hall" instead of "temple," the whole description would have been rendered much clearer. The same remark applies to the parallel passage in 2 Chron., chaps. 3 and 4, and also to the description of Ezekiel's temple, even though it is evident that in Ezek. 41:15 and 42:8 the word is used in a somewhat larger sense. In 2 Chron. 3:5 the holy place is called הַבַּיִת הַקֹּדֶשׁ, a name which at first sight bears a close resemblance to the Akkadian original of íkallu, viz., E. GAL "great house." As, however, this is a Hebrew way of expressing comparison, the resemblance may be only apparent,

⁹ Perrot et Chipiez, Vol. II, plates 30 and 76.

and our present translation correct. In the sublime vision of Isa. 6:1 we meet with a most interesting use of the word **הֵיכָל**, combining the three senses of "temple," "palace," and "hall." The prophet sees Jehovah sitting on his throne high and lifted up, and therefore in his palace. But this palace is a temple, for there is an altar, vs. 6, standing hard by; and this temple is one vast hall or throne-room, filled from end to end with the flowing robe of the divine glory. Hence Delitzsch's remark *in loco*: "**Hēkāl**: lit. a spacious hall, the name given to the temple as the palace of God the king;" and so T. K. Cheyne on the same passage: "The palace—Heb. **hēkāl** = Assy. **īkallu** = 'great house' (through the Akkadian). A great hall must have been the primary conception of a temple. Jehovah's heavenly palace or temple is meant here." Thus it will be observed that these two great authorities attach to the Hebrew **הֵיכָל** the very sense claimed in this article for the Assyrian **īkallu**.

But whilst as an architectural term **הֵיכָל** like **īkallu** appears to denote a large room or "hall," it is not meant to deny that "temple" is its commonest meaning in Scripture, whether used of the tabernacle,¹⁰ Solomon's temple, or the heavenly sanctuary;¹¹ more rarely it signifies "palace."¹² On the other hand, **īkallu** is most frequently used in the sense of "palace," whilst occasionally it signifies "temple." For this latter usage compare the inscription on the Gates of Balawat, col. v, 6, **ana īsagil īkal ilānišu ina ḫurban ina maḥri Bīli u Bīlti iḫḫi innamir**, "in behalf of Isagil, the temple of his gods, he appeared sacrificing with offerings before Bel and Beltis;" and so on the Black Stone of Esarhaddon, col. iv, 16, **īsagila īkal ilāni**. In the Babylonian account of the deluge, as given in the Nimrod Epos, Tablet xi, 96, **īkallu** is used in one place of the ark: **ana pīḫi ša (iḣu) ilippi ana Puzur (ilu) KUR-GAL (amīlu) malaḫi īkallu attadin adi bušišu**, "to the steersman of the ship, the sailor Puzur-KUR-GAL, I handed over 'the palace' and its contents." From the signification of "palace" **īkallu** very naturally came to signify "the court," and is found so used on some of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, *e. g.*, B 45, ll. 15, 16, **ianu amīlu ša ibalu duppia ana īkali** "I have no servant to carry my letter to the court." Compare the similar use of **הֵיכָל** in Ezra 4:14, as pointed out by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, "inde

¹⁰ 1 Sam. 1:9 and 3:3.¹¹ Ps. 11:4.¹² 2 Kings 20:18.

pro aula tanquam sede imperii." Further instances of íkallu in the sense of "hall" will be found in the Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib, col. vi, 42, 43; also in Esarhaddon's Cylinders, A and C, col. v, 29. Again, on the Monolith of Shalmaneser II., in col. ii, 80 we read, ilania ana íkallatišu lušírib tašiltu ina íkallatišu lu aškun, a passage which Professor Peiser renders: "Meine Götter liess ich in seine Tempel einziehen, hielt ein Festmahl in seinen Palästen ab." But would it not be better to give the word the meaning of "halls" in both cases instead of taking it in two different senses? After all, the images of the gods of Assyria may very well have been placed in the palace halls of a conquered foe.

In conclusion, then, it is claimed that the Assyrian íkallu, like the English word "hall" and the Greek μέγαρον, denotes, not only a large house, but also a large room in a house, and that this latter meaning is all the more deserving of notice because it appears to be the sense in which the word is used in architecture.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—The editors call attention to the fact that Th. Friedrich, "Die Ausgrabungen von Sendschirli und das bit hillani," in Delitzsch and Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. IV, pp. 227-78 (1900), has reached the same conclusions as Mr. Boutflower.]

CHALDÆANS AND CHALDIANS IN ARMENIA.

BY A. T. OLMSTEAD,
Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Belck and Lehmann, in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* and in the *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1892 *sqq.*, while discussing the history of the Ḫaldi, the Assyrian Urarṭu, have incidentally made a few references to the occurrence of *Χαλδαία*. These references are of considerable value, since they indicate the survival of the name long after the people itself had completely disappeared. Of these interesting relics of a perished people the present paper furnishes a more complete list.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the forms *Χαλδαία* and *Χαλδία*, with their cognate forms *Χαλδαῖοι* and *Χάλδοι*, we note first the word 'Αλαρόδιοι, used by Herodotus.¹ This, as long since recognized by Rawlinson,² is merely another form of the Assyrian Urarṭu, of which the Hebrew Ararat and the Armenian Airarat are only variants.

The early Greek writers seem to have used only the form *Χαλδαία*, thus confusing the Ḫaldi of Armenia with the Kasdu or Kaldu of the South, and so giving rise to many strange theories. Of these writers the first to use our word is Sophocles, who, in his lost *Tympanistae*,³ said something about

Κόλχος τε Χαλδαῖός τε καὶ Σύρων.

This reference has already been mentioned by Belck and Lehmann.⁴ Of about the same date is the hitherto unnoticed passage of Hellanicus, the first book of whose *Περσικοί* is quoted by Stephen of Byzantium to show that the inhabitants of this land are called *Χαλδαῖοι*, while the land itself bears the title of *Χαλδαϊκή*. It is barely possible, however, that the clause containing the quoted words is merely a gloss of Stephen.⁵

¹ III, 94; VII, 79.

² Herodotus, IV, p. 250.

³ Quoted by Stephen Byz., *sub* Χαλδαῖοι; *cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Lipsiae, 1856.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892, p. 131.

⁵ Steph. Byz., *sub* Χαλδαῖοι.

Of all the classic writers Xenophon, as might be expected, gives us the most valuable information.⁶ His writings throw more light on the condition of the Haldi in later times than do those of all the other Greek writers combined. For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to note Xenophon's use of *Χαλδαῖοι*, especially as Belck and Lehmann have already discussed these notices at considerable length.⁷

It is just possible that Dicæarchus (fl. 320 B. C.), in the first book of his *Ἑλλάδος βίος*, used the word *Χάλδοι*, since Eustathius of Thessalonica quotes him as saying that the *Χάλδοι* who live near Colchis have been called by some *Χαλδαῖοι*, a trisyllabic word.⁸ But, since the form of quotation is loose, and since Stephen, in quoting this very passage, uses only the form *Χαλδαῖοι*,⁹ we may well suspect the accuracy of the reading *Χάλδοι*.

The earliest apparent use of *Χαλδία* is to be found in the fragment from the *Periplus* of Menippus, an Augustan writer, quoted by Stephen.¹⁰ Here again we may suspect Stephen's reading, although, on the whole, it seems more rational to attribute the word to Menippus himself.

The last classical references are those of Strabo and Plutarch. The first is to be noted for his labored effort to connect *Χαλδαῖοι* and *Χαλύβες*,¹¹ the other for his use of *Χαλδαίων ἐρημίαν*, significant as showing that the Haldi had already been driven into the wildest part of the country.¹²

The references of Stephen of Byzantium bridge over the space between those of the classical writers and those of the Byzantine Greeks. To his research we owe the references to Sophocles, Hellanicus, Dicæarchus, and Menippus. As an original author he furnishes little. Although he distinguishes in his two succeeding articles between the *Χαλδαῖοι* and *Χαλδία*, he does not see that the *Χαλδαῖοι* of the latter portion of the first are the inhabitants of the *Χαλδία* of the second.

Once more we lose sight of the *Χάλδοι*. It is the ninth century before they reappear. *Χαλδία* is then one of the most

⁶ *Anab.*, IV, 3. 4; V, 5. 17; VII, 8. 25; *Cyrop.*, III, 2 *eqq.*

⁷ *Verhand. Ber. Anth. Ges.*, 1895, pp. 585 *eqq.*

⁸ *Com. ad Dion.*, 767; *cf. Frag. Hist. Graec.*, Frag. 8, Vol. II.

⁹ *Sub Χαλδαῖοι*; *cf. Frag. Hist. Graec.*, loc. cit.

¹⁰ *Sub Χαλδαῖοι*.

¹¹ XII, 3. 18-20, 28, 29. Belck still believes, wrongly, in my opinion, in this identity. (*Verh. Berl. Anth. Ges.*, 1900, p. 65.)

¹² *Lucullus*, XIV, 2.

important parts of the empire. References are numerous. *Χαλδία* forms one of the great frontier themes, the eighth, according to Constantine VII. (912-57).¹³ Its capital was Trapezus.¹⁴ The *στρατηγὸς Χαλδίας* was sixteenth in rank at the imperial court.¹⁵

Notwithstanding the general use of the more correct *Χαλδία*, it is still confused with *Χαλδαία*. Eustathius of Thessalonica, as already noted, has made some learned investigations, and therefore follows Strabo in identifying the *Χαλδαῖοι* with the *Χαλύβες*.¹⁶ Constantine attempts to prove that the Samaritan captives were settled in *Χαλδία* and that "*Χαλδία* takes its name from the appellation of the Persians and from their ancient fatherland *Χαλδία*, whence they are also called *Χαλδαῖοι*."¹⁷ The most interesting and instructive case, however, is that of Michael Attaliota,¹⁸ who gravely talks to us of *Μεσοποταμία τε καὶ Χαλδία*, thus showing clearly how *Χαλδία* had taken the place of *Χαλδαία*, now used only by professional scholars.

Since *Χαλδία* was a border province, we find several references to its military affairs. In the reign of Basil I. (867-86) we find Byzantine troops attacking *τοὺς Χάλδους καὶ Κολωνιάτας* in the war with Tephrike.¹⁹ Constantine VII. spent some time in the province,²⁰ while expeditions against the Saracens under the charge of the prefects of Armenia, Colonia, Mesopotamia, and *Χαλδία*,²¹ and also of a certain Constans, patrician and dungarius of the fleet, passed through the theme in this reign.²²

Of personages connected with *Χαλδία* we note the following:

Genesius mentions *Χάλδος τις ὃ Τζιφιναρίτης ἐπώνομον*.²³ A study of this name might be of some value.

Of rulers of *Χαλδία* we first note a certain Bardas, governor of this province during the reign of Nicephorus II. (963-9), but deposed and banished to Amasia by his successor, John I. (969-76).²⁴ Of more importance is Theodore Gabras, who, about 1091, drove out the Turks, quarreled with Alexius I. (1081-1118), and made himself practically independent. According to Anna Comnena, *ὄρμητο οὗτος ἐκ Χαλδαίας καὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω μερῶν*.²⁵

¹³ *Them.*, I, p. 30, P 12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Admin.*, 43, p. 155.

¹⁵ Constantine, *Cer.*, II, 52, p. 711.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 45, p. 199.

¹⁶ *Com. ad Dion.*, 767.

²² *Ibid.*, 50, p. 226.

¹⁷ *Them.*, I, p. 30, P 12.

²³ IV, 51A, p. 106.

¹⁸ P. 78.

²⁴ Leo. *Diac.*, *Hist.*, VI. 2.

¹⁹ *Theop. Cont.*, V, 40, p. 269.

²⁵ *Alex.*, VIII, 9, p. 417.

We learn that Andronicus I. (1183-5), before his accession, had led a wild life in *Χαλδία*, so we hear Ephræmius speaking of him

*ὅτε προσῆλθε ἀνακτ' ἐκ τῆς Χαλδίας.*²⁶

Finally, we have the reference of Nicetas to a certain Saltuchus who ruled Colonia and *Χαλδαία*.²⁷

To this same Nicetas we owe a description of the *Χαλδαϊκῇ καμίνῳ ἣν ἀνέκασσε νάφθα*, a description paralleled by modern accounts of the vicinity of Batum on the Caspian.²⁸

Finally, we note that there were both Armenians and *Χάλδοι* in the army which supported Thomas in his rebellion against Michael II. (821-9),²⁹ and that the Turma of Keltzine was a part of *Χαλδία*.³⁰ With the reference of the Continuator of Theophanes to *Ἀρμενίων Χάλδων Ἰβήρων* the list comes to an end.³¹

Few of these references throw any light upon the actual condition of the *Χάλδοι* in post-Assyrian times. They are rather valuable as showing how the name survived long after the *Χάλδοι* themselves had been utterly forgotten.

²⁶ L. 4869.

²⁷ *Man. Com.*, IV, 93A, p. 185; cf. *Rec. de Hist. de Crois.*, *Hist. grec.*, I, p. 298.

²⁸ *And. Comn.*, I, 200A, p. 404.

³⁰ *Const. Admin.*, 46, p. 209.

²⁹ *Genesis*, II, 15A, p. 33.

³¹ II, 12, p. 55.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—The following articles and books on the subject of Chaldæans and Chaldians in Armenia have appeared within the last few years: P. Jensen, "Die Sitze der Urarto-Chaldaeer zur Zeit Tiglathpileser's I. nach Belck und Lehmann," *ZA.*, Vol. XI, pp. 306-9; Belck und Lehmann, "Zu Jensen's Bemerkungen betreffs der Sitze der Chalder," *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 113-23.—P. Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1898; xxvi+255 pp.—P. Karolidēs, *Die sogenannten Assyro-Chaldaeer und Hittiten von Kleinasien*. Athen: Barth & Hirst, 1898; 175 pp.—M. Streck, "Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan u. Westpersien nach den babylonisch-assyrischen Inschriften," *ZA.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 57-110, 203-72.—Also Belck and Lehmann's "Reiseberichte" on their expedition to Armenia, published in several periodicals during the years 1899 and 1900; and the literature clustering around their report.]

Book Notices.

PHœNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TEMPLE OF HATHOR-MISKAR.¹

Professor Berger, the successor of Renan at the Collège de France, and well known as one of the greatest living authorities on Phœnician inscriptions, has published the text with translations of the elaborate commentary to an important Punic inscription found at the ruins of the temple of Hathor-Miskar at Maktar. The inscription itself consists of ten columns, which may be divided into two sections, the first consisting of three columns and the second of the remaining six. The first part contains the dedication of the sanctuary and the second the names of thirty-two persons, forming a kind of religious corporation, who have erected the temple. A Punic inscription of forty-four lines is exceptional, and it is, therefore, not surprising that it offers various points of interest. The very first word of the inscription, "Mizrach," may be taken as an illustration. The explanation of this rather curious word is due to the eminent Clermont-Ganneau, who has shown that it is the name of the religious corporation which has erected the sanctuary. The ordinary meaning, "east," attached to the word is evidently not in place, and Berger is probably right in deriving it from a stem signifying "to blossom forth;" our own word "seminary" (from *semen*, "seed") offers a parallel. M. Berger is not so happy in his attempt to identify the mysterious word "tat" with the Egyptian god "Thot." It would be rather strange to encounter this god at so late a period, and the difficulty is increased by the description of "tat" as the god Ammon.

The thirty-two proper names constitute, perhaps, the most interesting part of the inscription, and there are a number that appear here for the first time. As usual with Punic names, we find a strange mixture of Roman and genuine Phœnician names. Corresponding to this mixture we also find in the religious ideas reflected in the inscription a *mélange* of old Phœnician customs with the Roman institutions, and, indeed, the very idea of a religious corporation seems to be directly due to Roman influence. Berger, to be sure, is of the opinion that this institution belongs to the early period of Punic cults, but the very fact that we encounter it for the first time in this inscription lends plausibility to the supposition of its being borrowed. Besides the larger inscription, two smaller ones have been found at Maktar, and M. Berger includes in his monograph a description of these. They are unfortunately somewhat mutilated and so brief as to add very little to the information

¹ MÉMOIRE SUR LA GRANDE INSCRIPTION DÉDICATOIRE ET SUR PLUSIEURS AUTRES INSCRIPTIONS NÉO-PUNIQUES DU TEMPLE D'HATHOR-MISKAR À MAKTAR. Par M. Philippe Berger. Paris: Klincksieck, 1899. 48 pp. Fr. 4.

gleaned from the first. As usual, M. Berger is very happy in his restitutions of mutilated passages, although in regard to a number of these, particularly in the second inscription, scholars will probably hold various views. The importance of excavations and explorations undertaken by French scholars during the last decade in north Africa cannot be too highly rated, and there is every reason to hope that the continuation of these labors will lead eventually to a solution of the many philological and archaeological problems that have been raised by these explorations.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

A DICTIONARY OF THE TECHNICAL TERMS IN THE TALMUDS AND MIDRASHIM.¹

Dr. Bacher, well known by his numerous lexicographical and grammatical publications, has placed all students of rabbinical literature under great obligations by the very useful compilation of the technical terms used in the two Talmuds and the Midrash literature. One of the great difficulties which students encounter in entering upon this very difficult field of investigation consists in the almost bewildering use of terms and phrases for which even the dictionaries offer inadequate help. Dr. Bacher has gathered these together in alphabetical order and has attached to each one an elaborate and clear explanation, together with illustrations of the use to which the terms in question are put. Incidentally he adds remarks and comments which will be of use also to more advanced students and to specialists. His work will be found invaluable to Semitic students in general, and Dr. Bacher's well-known accuracy makes it quite superfluous to add that he is a thoroughly reliable guide.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

IBN WALLĀD'S KITĀB AL-MAKSŪR.²

Dr. Brönnle has formed the ambitious plan of publishing a series of manuscripts bearing on Arabic philology, and as a first volume offers the text of Ibn Wallād's treatise known as Kitāb al-Maksūr. The part published contains only the text, and until the second part appears, which will furnish the introduction and commentary, together with the preface and bibliography, opinions as to the value and accuracy of Dr. Brönnle's work must necessarily be postponed. The Kitāb al-Maksūr is a lexicographical treatise containing verbal and nominal forms derived from stems containing what are ordinarily termed weak letters. The meanings of these words are explained as well as the forms, and their use illustrated by copious quotations from the Arabic poets. Naturally most of the material collected by Ibn Wallād is embodied in various of

¹ DIE ÄLTESTE TERMINOLOGIE DER JÜDISCHEN SCHRIFTAUSLEGUNG. Ein Wörterbuch der bibelexegetischen Kunstsprache der Tannaiten. Von Dr. Wilhelm Bacher. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. 207 pp. M. 8.50.

² THE KITĀB AL-MAKSŪR WA'L-MAMDŪD BY IBN WALLĀD. Being a Treatise, Lexicographical and Grammatical, from Manuscripts in Berlin, London, Paris. Edited, with Text and Critical Notes, Introduction, Commentary, and Indices. By Dr. Paul Brönnle. London: Luzac & Co.; Leiden, 1900.

the lexicographical compilations made by native Arabic scholars, so that probably the most useful part of Brönnle's publication appears in the quotations from Arabic poetry and the interpretation given to the stanzas adduced as illustrations. The text has been carefully edited and the variant readings of the manuscript elaborately noted.

We look forward with interest to the second part and reserve further comments until that shall have appeared.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE ORIGIN OF THE "ORIGINAL HEBREW" OF ECCLESIASTICUS.¹

With this little pamphlet of twenty small quarto pages Professor Margoliouth sought to turn back the tide of criticism and to reduce the reputed fragments of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus to the humble position of a secondary version or worse. His theory, since advocated by him with much ingenuity and learning, and not a little acrimony, would make of these Hebrew fragments a retranslation made later than 1000 A. D. from Syriac and Persian versions by a man whose native language was Arabic. That this is the solution of the riddle, and that the Hebrew is neither original nor even intelligible, Professor Margoliouth argues entertainingly enough, though with an occasional fling at criticism which rises to the sinister dignity of a taunt in his closing paragraph. "This, then," Professor Margoliouth disagreeably concludes, "is the miserable trap in which all the Hebraists of Europe have been ensnared. It was I that decoyed them into it, it is I that let them out of it. Driver and Nöldeke are not quite the men to be caught napping; but owing to a controversy in which we had been engaged, they had an *interest* in thinking this rubbish genuine; and it was this interest which put them off their guard. Mrs. Lewis by her precious discovery has hit biblical criticism harder than it ever was hit before or is ever likely to be hit again. For the next time we proceed to parcel out Isaiah, will not our very street boys call out to us, 'You who misdate by 1,300 years a document before you, what do *you* know of the dates of the Prophecies and Psalms?'"

It is much too late to cry moderation to Professor Margoliouth; but a less truculent paragraph than this one might well repel a reader in search of a judicial and tolerant presentation of both sides of a question. Professor Margoliouth has indeed made things look dark for the Hebrew text, but the alternative he presents seems far from probable, and above all the highly belligerent manner of presentation makes one suspect distortion of the evidence, and at the most suspend judgment. Professor Margoliouth's astounding tactics have not availed to overthrow the Hebraists' confidence in their new monument, and his loud challenge will remain chiefly interesting as a warning example of how not to deport oneself in scholarly debate.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

¹ THE ORIGIN OF THE "ORIGINAL HEBREW" OF ECCLESIASTICUS. By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. London: James Parker & Co., 1899. 20 pp.

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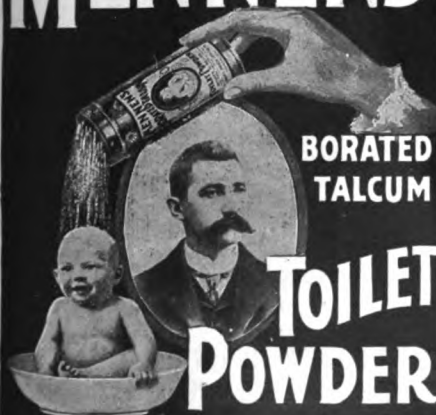
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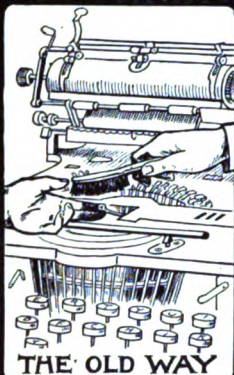
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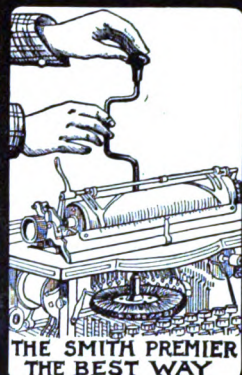
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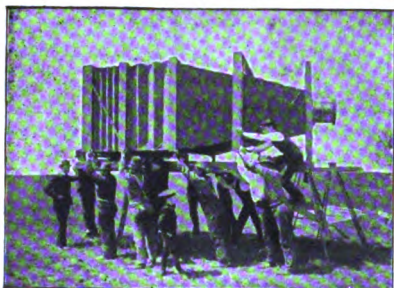
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